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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

OF THE

American Museum of Natural History.

Vol. IX, Part II.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CROW INDIANS.

BY
ROBERT H. LOWIE.

ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

NEW YORK:
Published by Order of the Trustees.
1912.

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INTRODUCTION.

I first visited Crow Agency in the summer of 1907, making a general survey of the field in the interests of the American Museum of Natural History. In 1910 I began a more systematic study of the military and ceremonial organizations, which was continued the following summer. In the course of these investigations considerable material accumulated on the clans and social customs of the Crow, and a very brief, fourth visit to the reservation in 1912 enabled me to fill in a number of gaps in my knowledge and to present a fairly systematic outline of the subject. On some points the evidence is contradictory, and, in spite of the generous assistance of various Indians, there are doubtless many sins of omission. Nevertheless, the essential points, I believe, are covered in the following presentation. It may be well to state that the chapter on War Customs is not meant to give a full treatment of the subject, but is merely an outline included on account of the social aspects of military life.

I feel under the greatest obligations to many residents of the Crow Reservation, who have been of material assistance in the progress of my work there, but must acknowledge my greatest indebtedness to my interpreters in the several districts of the Reservation: Messrs. James Carpenter and Robert Yellow-tail of Lodge Grass; David Stewart of Reno; Henry Russell of Pryor; and Ralph Saco of the Bighorn District.

This paper will be followed by studies of other phases of Crow culture.

The approximate phonetic values of letters employed in writing Crow words are indicated in the following list:—

a, e, i, o, u	Continental vowels
a, e, i, o, u, above the line	parasitic vowels
ë	English *a* in *bare*
ɛ	obscure vowel
ai	English *i* in *bite*
au	English *ou* in *house*
b, d	weakly nasalized, related to *m* and *n*
c	English *sh*, not always easily distinguishable from *s*
g·, k·	palatized stops, often suggesting palatized *d* and *t*

‘	Post-vocalic breath
r	very weakly trilled tongue-tip *r*, related to *d*
x	German *ch* in *acht*
k, t, p	medial in sonancy
’	glottal catch

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

October, 1912.

HISTORY.

The Crow (apsā'ruke) form, together with the Hidatsa, a distinct sub-family of the Siouan linguistic stock. Indeed, the words common to this sub-family and other divisions of the Siouan group are very limited in number, though such characteristic morphological traits as the use of instrumental verbal prefixes are not lacking. Compared with each other, the Crow and Hidatsa languages reveal a very close relationship, but I should hesitate to pronounce them mutually intelligible. So far as my experience goes, members of either tribe freely follow conversation in the other language only if they have had previous occasion to meet members of the other tribe. At all events, the separation of the Crow from the Hidatsa must be regarded as relatively recent, but this conclusion, it must be noted, rests exclusively on linguistic considerations, for the culture of the two tribes has undergone considerable differentiation.

According to an Hidatsa informant, his people at one time had four villages on the Knife River with a fifth in the middle, and the inhabitants of this fifth, who were called *hē'rerȯke* ("among them" or "in their midst"), were the ancestors of the Crow. The separation legend common to both tribes relates that the Crow at one time lived with the Hidatsa on the Missouri River, but seceded and moved towards the mountains to the west on account of a quarrel over the distribution of food. The alleged reason for the secession occurs among the traditions of other tribes and cannot be uncritically accepted as historical. But the feeling on both sides of a close relationship is certainly very strong and corroborates the linguistic argument. It may also be noted that in spite of the legendary quarrel there is no tradition of any enmity between the Crow and the Hidatsa.

The Crow themselves recognize three local divisions of their tribe in former times: the *minë'sepȇ're* (Dung-on-the-river-banks?), also known as the Black-Lodges; the *a'c'arahō'* (Many-Lodges); and the *ërarapī'o* (Kicked-in-their-bellies).[1] The first of these groups corresponds to the River Crow of some writers, and it was less closely affiliated with the two other divisions — often jointly designated as "Mountain Crow" — than these were with each other. The River Crow roamed along the lower Yellowstone

[1] To-day this name is applied to the Crow Indians of Lodge Grass, though by no means all of them are descendants of the local group. The same designation was also applied to one of the Crow clans (see p. 190).

River down to the Missouri confluence. They met the Assiniboine, and were apparently also in more frequent contact with the Hidatsa than the Mountain Crow, so that certain societies, such as the Horse society and also one Crazy Dog organization,[1] are regarded as distinctive of the River Crow, who are said to have adopted them from the tribes mentioned. The Many-Lodges, according to all accounts, occupied approximately the territory including the present Crow reservation and adjoining regions, that is to say, southeastern Montana and part of Wyoming. The Fire-weasel couple define the territory of the Many-Lodges as bounded by the Tongue River on the east and the site of Livingston, Montana, on the west. Bull-chief states that in the spring they ranged from the site of Buffalo, Wyoming, to the Pryor district, Montana, while in the winter they moved towards the Basin. The *ë'rarapī'o*, according to this authority, joined the Many-Lodges in the spring, but in the winter they went to the country of the Wyoming Shoshone. Maximilian seems to speak of the whole Crow tribe pasturing their horses along the Wind River in winter,[2] but if the division into local bands antedates his journey,[3] his informants presumably referred to the winter habitat of the Kicked-in-their-bellies band.

There is no evidence that any dialectic differentiation took place among the three local groups. They were never at war with one another, but on some occasions temporary misunderstandings seem to have led to the composition of songs by one group deriding the members of another. As the name implies, the Many-Lodges were numerically preponderant, and the Crow employ the same term to designate the East as the principal dwelling-place of the whites.

In answer to the direct question, whether a person belonged to his father's or his mother's local band, I received contradictory answers. In practice the problem probably never arose. The majority of marriages took place between members of the same band, and I am decidedly under the impression that affiliation with a band was simply a matter of residence.

According to Clark,[4] the separation of the River Crow from the Mountain Crow is very recent, having been caused by the inroads of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The *Handbook of American Indians* (p. 368) even gives so late a date as 1859 for this occurrence. In response to an inquiry on the subject, Mr. Hodge, the editor of this work and Ethnologist-in-charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, kindly asked Mr. Mooney to examine the authority for this date and has sent me Mr. Mooney's report:

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[1] There were three different organizations that were called by this name.
[2] I, p. 399.
[3] See below.
[4] P. 134.

"The statement regarding the separation of the Mountain and River Crow is from Agent Pease (Indian Affairs Report for 1871, p. 420, 1872), who says: 'They separated some twelve years since' [i. e. about 1859]. Hayden (p. 394), writing about 1860, gives them three bands, two of which roved in the Wind River mountains, the Bighorn mountains and on the upper Platte, while the third ranged, 'along the valley of the Yellowstone, from mouth to source.' The Mountain and River Crows are mentioned separately in the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1866 (p. 175). Clark (Indian Sign Language, 134, 1885) says the separation was due to the attacks of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, by whom a part of the Crow were forced north of the Missouri River 'and joining the Grosventres of the Prairie [Atsina], remained there for some years and became known as the River Crows.' The facts of Cheyenne and Arapaho history would seem to make this considerably earlier than 1859, if true at all, but as the Atsina are allies of the Blackfeet, the hereditary enemies of the Crow, I incline to doubt Clark's story."

Major Pease is thus made to figure as the authority for the statement in the *Handbook*. However, in the summer of 1912 I had occasion to meet this gentleman and bring the matter to his personal notice, and he assured me that he had been misinterpreted as he was convinced that the division into River and Mountain Crow went back at least several decades before the date cited. This view is corroborated by my Indian informants, the oldest of whom declare that the separation took place before their time. There is also documentary evidence. Thus, Leonard (1834) writes that the Crow "are divided into two divisions of an equal number in each — there being too great a number to travel together, as they could not get game in many places to supply such a force. Each division is headed by a separate chief." [1] Unfortunately, Leonard does not localize his two divisions, but according to Mr. Curtis, Mountain Crow and River Crow figured as separate bands in a treaty with the Government in 1825.[2] The same writer, on the basis of traditional evidence, seems to incline to the view that the dual [3] division of the Crow may date back even to the period of their separation from the Hidatsa, though the tendency towards definite segregation set in only in the early part of the nineteenth century.[4]

The present grouping of the tribe on the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana does not correspond to the older local divisions. There are five, or six,[5] districts, viz., Black Lodge, Reno, Lodge Grass, Bighorn, and Pryor. Of these Pryor, owing to its geographical position and the difficulty of crossing the Bighorn River during certain parts of the year, is

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[1] L. c., p. 255.

[2] IV, p. 41.

[3] The third division mentioned above is regarded by Mr. Curtis as having been merely in an incipient stage.

[4] Ibid., pp. 42–43, 47.

[5] The Bighorn District is divided into an Upper and a Lower District.

separated from the rest by a sharper line of demarcation than divides any of the others. Indeed, I have met young people at Lodge Grass who had never been to the Pryor country. In certain details of the Tobacco ceremony the present local differentiation of the Crow has effected a slight cultural differentiation.

In 1833 the number of Crow warriors was set at 1200, while the entire population had been estimated at from 3250 to 3560. At present there are approximately 1750 Crow on the Reservation.

The principal enemies of the Crow were the Western Dakota and the Piegan, though practically all the other tribes of the surrounding country were at one time or other at war with them. To the Government they have given relatively very little trouble except for the uprising of Wraps-up-his-tail, "the prophet," (1890) which has been described by Mooney.[1]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Clan.

The clan (àc'ambarîexìe)[2] forms the unit of social organization among the Crow, descent being in the female line. The result of Morgan's personal investigation of the tribe[3] thus stands confirmed, and Swanton's skepticism,[4] however justified as a general principle in the discussion of Indian social organization, is misapplied in the present case. It may be well to note at the beginning that the Crow clans did not correspond to divisions of the camp circle. Indeed, the camp circle was not regularly employed by this tribe; and when a circle *was* formed, the clans did not occupy any definite place in it.

Each clan had a headman, who became such as a result of his war record. Sometimes the headmen induced the men of their clan to separate from the main body of the Crow for the purpose of hunting buffalo. This temporary separation was called *acdū'sa+u*. Onion was at one time the headman of the *acpênuce;* at present Gray-bull claims the honor for himself. Sees-bull's-mentula was the name of the *birik·ō'oce* headman. Plenty-coups was headman of the *acī'oce*, Pretty-eagle of the *ack·a'mne*.

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[1] Pp. 491–492.

[2] Literally, "lodge where there is driftwood." The meaning seems to be that clansfolk belong together like drifting pieces of wood that have all become lodged in one place.

[3] L. c., p. 159.

[4] L. c., pp. 663–673.

Fellow-clansmen often feasted together and even to-day help one another out at initiations into the Tobacco society by contributing to the expense fund. The same attitude is reflected in a story told by Spotted-rabbit. A man named Spotted-fish lost his favorite horse, which was stolen by the Piegan, but recovered by four Crow who went on the warpath. Spotted-fish offered them four horses and some other property for his favorite, but they insisted on getting an elk-tooth dress in addition, which Spotted-fish refused to pay. However, his fellow-clansmen got together a large amount of property and bought the horse back for Spotted-fish. A fellow-clansman's wife was considered a sister-in-law in exactly the same way as an own brother's wife (see p. 212); according to Old-dog and others, joking with her, even of an obscene character, was freely indulged in, and sometimes elopements occurred. To-day, a husband who might otherwise become jealous if his wife danced with another man does not feel any resentment if her partner belongs to his own clan. When one of the local divisions of the Crow visited another, an *acī'oce* woman would bring meat to the wife of a fellow-clansman in the visiting group. If the wife was alone, she returned moccasins and other articles such as women make. If the *acī'oce* man himself was in the lodge, he would send back horses and other valuable gifts for his clanswoman's husband. This usage corresponds to that in vogue when a married sister brought some food to her own brother. The work connected with an individual's burial seems to have been performed, in part at least, by his fellow-clansmen (Gros-Ventre-horse).

If a Crow killed another, the murderer's clan sometimes paid an indemnity to the slain man's clan; otherwise there was likely to be a fight between the clans. In the days of Lone-tree's youth, a young man was once riding about camp in his best clothing, when another man, fearing that he meant to steal his wife, shot and killed him. Crow-face, a mother's brother of the dead man, fought the murderer's clan and was shot through the arm. Some time after this occurrence Crow-face had a supernatural communication from a bear. One day after this revelation he went out hunting with an associate who belonged to neither of the warring clans. They killed a buffalo and butchered it in sight of members of the other clan. Suddenly Crow-face looked at them and began to sing a bear song. His companion mounted on horseback, but Crow-face bade him wait for a second song. Then he stretched out his arm, told the people he would pursue them, and began to give chase together with his friend. The latter caught up with the last of the fugitives, who reminded him that he (the pursuer) was not a member of either clan concerned. Crow-face's friend replied, "I know that, but I want to get even with you"; saying which, he shot an arrow into the other man and killed him. He asked Crow-face

whether he wished to have the scalp, and Crow-face said he did not. Both returned to camp, and this apparently was the end of the affair.

After Wraps-up-his-tail had been killed by Fire-bear, then a member of the Government's Indian police, Wraps-up-his-tail's fellow-clansmen, and especially his own brother, for a long time sought to kill the slayer. Some say that it was merely for Fire-bear's protection that the Government continued to keep him in its employ.

Once a party of Crow set out with the fastest horse in the tribe. It was captured by the Sioux, but a few days later the party went out again, and one Crow recovered it. The Sioux made an attack on the party, and the recoverer of the horse was fleeing with Birds-all-over-the-ground. The former got off to take a drink, when his companion, who had been coveting the horse, killed him. The Sioux heard the report and came up to make a charge, but Birds-all-over-the-ground rode the fast horse and made his escape. For a long time the other Crow Indians did not know how he had got the horse and gave him great credit for bringing it back to the tribe. Much later they found out the actual circumstances of the murder from a Sioux visitor. The victim's old father began to cry when he heard the news, and the murdered man's clansmen (birik·ō'oce) prepared to avenge his death. Birds-all-over-the-ground belonged to the *acī'oce* clan, and the clansmen loaded up horses with presents and brought a pipe to the father, begging him to desist from further steps toward punishment of the offender. The chief of the *acī'oce* took a pipe to the chief of the *birik·ō'oce,* who took it after some deliberation and said that inasmuch as a peace pipe was offered and as the affair had taken place long ago, he would allow the matter to drop. Then the father took the presents and distributed them among his clansmen. To-day the murderer's deed is forgiven.

So far as I am able to learn, Morgan's opinion that property was inherited in the maternal line stands corroborated. At the time of my first visit to the Crow the Government officials were attempting to adjust the difference between the Federal and the native conceptions of inheritance, for, according to the old Crow view, land, like other property, should revert to a deceased person's brothers and sisters, that is to say, to his own clan. Bear-gets-up said that, before dying, a man might call out that he wished to give one or two horses to his wife or son, and that such a wish was respected; however, the majority of the horses fell to the brothers' share. The same rule applied to the inheritance of clothing. Medicines, however, were often bequeathed to the oldest son before death.

One of the most conspicuous functions of the clan was the regulation of marriage. It was not considered proper that members of the same clan should marry. When a man did marry within his own clan, people said

that he had married his sister and poked fun at him. His joking-relatives (see p. 204) would say that he had no brother-in-law, but that his own rump was his brother-in-law: "Turn around and speak to your brother-in-law." His own clansman may tease him by calling him "brother-in-law," and they may also deride the woman by calling her *bûaka*, "my sister-in-law." If a man married within his clan (or took liberties with other women tabooed to him), people might also say of him, "*arâxuic k·awik*," "The part of his body above his genitalia is bad." Gray-bull told me that his own son, who was present during our interview, had married a member of his clan, and that he deserved to be laughed at. The same informant enumerated six cases within his memory in which the rule had been transgressed,— three offences by *ū'wut'ace*, one by *acitsi'te* and two by *birik·ō'oce*. One woman had transgressed twice, re-marrying into her clan after her first husband's death. In a case of intra-clan marriage, Gray-bull remarked, the children would belong at the same time to both their father's and their mother's clan, a reflection which greatly amused him. Another informant said that Curly's father, an *ack·ápkawiè*, had married within his clan, and that Bobtail-wolf and his wife had both been members of the *acxatsé*.

At the present day the older rules are no longer so strictly obeyed as in former times, but nevertheless the total number of marriages within the clan is relatively small. I do not know of more than half a dozen cases of this sort, and most of them are among very young people, so that it seems proper to disregard them, as has been done in the comparative estimate of intra-clan and intra-"phratric" marriages (p. 196).

The Clan System.

Owing to numerous contradictions in the statements of different informants, it would be very confusing to the reader to be confronted at the outset with the steps by which I gradually arrived at my present conception of the Crow clan system. I will, therefore, begin by stating dogmatically what seems to me the most acceptable view of the subject, and will then qualify by presenting and discussing the contradictory evidence.

The three local divisions did not differ with regard to their clan constituents, all clans being apparently represented in each band, though a majority of the *ërarapī'o* clan seem to have been in the local division of the same name.

The clans were grouped together, mostly in pairs, in six larger nameless social units. The following list, furnished by Old-dog (Lodge Grass) and corroborated in most or all essentials by Sharp-horn (Pryor), Shot-in-the-

arm (Bighorn), and others, gives the native and English names of the clans and their mode of grouping. For convenience of reference, the groups are numbered quite arbitrarily, the order of the clans within each group being likewise immaterial.

Clans of the Crow Indians.

I	acirārī'o	Newly-made Lodge
	acitsíte	Big (Thick) Lodge
II	acī'oce	Sore-lip Lodge
	ū'wut'acè	Greasy inside of the mouth
III	ū'sawatsìE	Without hitting they fetch game
	xúxkaraxtsè	Tied in a knot
	acpénuce (acpénduce)	Filth-eating Lodge
IV	ërarapī'o	Kicked in their Bellies
	ack·ápkawìE	Bad War Honors
V	birik·ō'oce	Whistling Water
	àcxatsé	Spotted (Streaked) Lodge
VI	ack·ámne	Piegan Lodge
	àcbatcúe	Awl Lodge

One of the greatest difficulties in the study of the Crow clan system was due to the occasional statements of some informants that the grouped names were not designations of different clans, but only distinct names for the same clans. Several Indians further complicated matters by introducing names of clans not mentioned and in some instances not even recognized by their fellow-tribesmen. Whether these names were used interchangeably with certain others, or were once in vogue but had been superseded by those of the standard set, or whether they represented clans that had passed out of existence a long time ago, was at times a rather difficult problem. The statements secured may be most clearly presented in connection with the preceding scheme.

To the clan names of group I several informants add *cípte'tse* or *cí'te'tse*, the approximate translation of which is "rebounding shot" or "sound of a rebounding arrow." This obviously is the equivalent of Morgan's Shiptet-zä, which he renders "Bear's Paw Mountain." [1] Morgan also lists the Ah-shin-na-de-ah, or "Lost Lodges," meaning in all probability the *acirārī'o*, but does not give any name closely corresponding to its mate in my list. According to Crane-bear, *cípte'tse* was merely a nickname given to the

[1] L. c., p. 159.

acitsi'te, his own clan, which view is in some measure confirmed by the fact that it does not occur in my list of clan affiliations. It is possible that the same explanation applies to still another name, for which I have the authority of only the Fire-weasel couple (Pryor): *isîsirā̀ce*, "Brothers-in-law-to-their-rumps." [1]

Practically all the Indians — for example, Crane-bear and Arm-round-the-neck — are positive that *acitsíte* and *acirārī'o* are names of distinct clans. Crane-bear said he should never think of saying he was an *acirārī'o;* in fact, he had wives belonging to this clan.

To the names for group II the Fire-weasel couple, Crane-bear, On-both-sides, and Arm-round-the-neck add *isā'tskawìᴇ*, "Bad Leggings," which also figures in Morgan's list. Crane-bear and Arm-round-the-neck independently identify the *isā'tskawìe* with the *ū'wut'ace*, and it is worth noting that the latter are not mentioned by Morgan. The Fire-weasels also gave as a clan name *biricī'cie*, "They-drink-muddy-water," but Arm-round-the-neck regards this as merely a second designation for the *acī'oce*. An informant from the Black Lodge District stands alone in including *icī'ptsiate*, "Small Pipes," in his enumeration of clans of this group. Neither of the two supplementary names occurs in my marriage record.

Cuts-the-picketed-mule stands alone in alleging that the *ū'wut'ace* and *acī'oce* were identical. Old-dog declared he should always give the *acī'oce*, never the *ū'wut'ace*, as his clan. The fact that several marriages between members of these linked clans were noted, seems to clinch the argument.

Several additional names appear for group III. The Fire-weasel couple give *ềrisā'watse*, "Big Bellies," as the name of a separate clan, but according to Bear-gets-up it was merely the original name of the *ū'sawatsìe. isácg·e xawī'k·*, "Bad Horses," is given by On-both-sides, by a Black Lodge informant, and Arm-round-the-neck, but the last of these identifies the "Bad Horses" with the *xúxkaraxtsè*. Several Indians and Mr. Curtis [1] list the *ī'cirềte*, "Not Mixed," but Arm-round-the-neck says the name refers to the *ū'sawatsìᴇ* and Mr. Curtis remarks that the *ū'sawatsìᴇ* and *ī'cirềte* cannot be distinguished from each other at the present day. That these names are indeed interchangeable is proved by the fact that Lone-tree and Big-ox classed themselves as *ū'sawatsìᴇ* when I tried to determine their affiliations, while Mr. Curtis designates them as *ī'cirềte*.

The alliance between the *xúxkaraxtsè* and *ū'sawatsìe* is generally regarded as of older standing than that between them and the *acpénuce*. There can be little doubt that all three were distinct. Gray-bull says he should call himself nothing but an *acpénuce;* and Big-ox, an *ū'sawatsìᴇ* has been married to both a *xúxkaraxtsè* and an *acpénuce* woman.

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[1] The meaning of this sobriquet is explained on p. 189.

Very few informants add to the names of group IV. Arm-round-the-neck gave *biripā'xuE*, "They scrape water," as another name for the *ack·-ápkawiE*, while the Fire-weasels mention a *hurī'wice* (Hair-on-their-legs) clan not referred to by any other Crow.

I do not find any statement to the effect that the two names of group IV refer to the same clan. The record of one marriage between members of these linked clans seems to indicate that they were distinct.

Together with the names of group V of the standard list many natives mention the *tsi'pawaī'itse*, "Pretty Prairie Dogs." Shot-in-the-hand and Crane-bear say that this is another name for the *birik·ō'oce*, and Arm-round-the-neck and Old-woman identify both with the *àcxatsé*. Evidence to the contrary is furnished by Crane-bear's wife, who calls herself *àcxatsé*, but says she was at one time married to a *tsi'pawaī'itse* and that this did not arouse any comment. Old-woman's view is very puzzling when taken in connection with another statement made by her, that Smart-horse and Mane, both *àcxatsé*, married *birik·ō'oce* women, and that Gros-Ventre, an *àcxatsé* married a *tsi'pawaī'itse*. If the three names were all applied interchangeably to the same clan, why this differentiation of names in telling of what, from her point of view, was merely an instance of marrying within one and the same clan? According to Mr. Curtis, the *àcxatsé* and *birik·ō'oce* cannot be distinguished at the present day. The theoretical significance of the point here dealt with will appear presently (see p. 194).

Two additional names were given by the Fire-weasel couple: *ū'ux-akdū'ce*, "Deer-eaters" (which is almost certainly identical with Morgan's O-hot-du-sha, "Antelope"), and *acbatsī'rice*, "They-do-not-look (as though blind) Lodge." However, it is doubtful to which group these names really belong. One statement identifies the *ū'ux-akdū'ce* with the *ack·áp kawiè*, though Morgan lists them as separate clans. As for the *acbatsī'rice*, Crane-bear recognizes the name as referring to a distinct clan, but links it with the *áca'barè'te* and the *àcbatcúE*.

Group VI presents the same problem as the preceding group inasmuch as there is doubt whether the two names of the standard list do not refer to but one clan. This is also the view expressed for recent times, at least, by Mr. Curtis, while Morgan cites the Ash-bot-chee-ah, "Treacherous Lodges" and the "Ash-kane-na," "Blackfoot Lodges," as separate clans.

áca'barè'te, "Lodge without ears," is a name linked with group VI by Crane-bear and my Black Lodge District informant. According to another authority, the name referred to the *ack·ámne* clan. *acbā'ta'te*, "Merciless Lodge," is given by On-both-sides and the Fire-weasels as the designation of a distinct clan, while Arm-round-the-neck is of opinion that both it and the two names of the standard list refer to but a single clan. *i'pískuruce*,

"They-eat-nasal-mucus," was cited as a separate clan by the Fire-weasel couple, but a origin tale (p. 200) indicates that it may have been merely the old name for the *ack·ámne*.

Crane-bear stands absolutely alone in holding that the *ack·ámne* not only formed a separate clan, but were not linked with any other, thus making a seventh group. However, one or two other informants, by individual arrangements of certain clans, likewise increased the number of clan-groups to seven.

To sum up, it appears that most of the supplementary names may have been nothing but older designations or nicknames of clans given in my standard list. Of course, it is possible that some of them represent clans that have passed out of existence, but to what extent this may hold cannot be satisfactorily ascertained to-day. There is, at all events, every reason to suppose that my list of thirteen clan names is very nearly complete for the second half of the nineteenth century, for in my marriage records, which were obtained primarily for another purpose, there occur only two additional names, *ī'cirḕte* and *tsi'pawaī'itse*. Another problem is, whether even the limited number of names grouped on page 190 all correspond to distinct clans, or whether the number of real clans coincides, as a few Crow contended, with that of my clan-groups. Groups V and VI, which remain problematical and will be again discussed below, may be disregarded for the present. Taking the other names in my list, there can be little doubt that they are all the designations of distinct clans. This is based not merely on the general statements of a decisive majority of my informants, but also on the negative attitude they took almost invariably when the idea was suggested to them that perhaps it was immaterial which of the linked clan names they gave as their own.

The question now naturally presents itself, what may have been the functions of the clan-associations? Were these larger groups exogamous like the clans? That is to say, was marriage prohibited not only with a member of the same clan, but also with a member of the linked clan? Mr. Curtis is obviously of the opinion that the prohibition extended to the larger units, which he accordingly calls "phratries." He tells us that "the former ban against taking a wife from the sister-clan is not now strictly regarded" (p. 25); and that "formerly marriage between members of the same clan was prohibited, and marriage within the phratry was rare" (p. 178). These two statements, however, are not identical in meaning. The first statement suggests that at one time there was a strict rule against marriage within the "phratry." Had this been the case, clan exogamy might follow as a necessary consequence of phratric exogamy, and a special investigation would be required to determine whether the exogamous rule

applied originally to the lesser or the larger social unit. If, on the other hand, the second statement is accepted, we might regard the tendency to eschew marriage with a member of a sister-clan as merely an extension of what must then be viewed as fundamentally a characteristic of the *clan*.

Assuming provisionally, the latter alternative, we should be prepared to find different rules for the several clan-associations inasmuch as it is quite conceivable that a prohibition originally confined to one clan may in some cases be extended to the linked clan, while in other associations no such extension takes place. The evidence collected on this point is as follows.

For group I, we find that Crane-bear, an *acitsi'te* has twice married members of the linked clan, though he did say that such intermarriage did not "look well." Sparrow-hawk, an *acitsîte*, has an *acirārī'o* wife, and Bull's-neck, an *acirārī'o*, has married into the linked clan. Arm-round-the-neck, an *acirārī'o* had at one time an *acitsîte* wife. Shows-a-fish, an *acitsi'te*, sees no objection to such marriages.

In group II, Old-dog and Gros-Ventre-horse regarded marriages between the linked clans quite proper. Gros-Ventre-horse, himself an *ū'wut'acè* by birth, married two *acī'oce* women. The value of this testimony is, however, diminished by the fact that my informant belonged by adoption to another clan, which may have caused a difference in his attitude. On the other hand, the evidence given by Bull-weasel's mother, an old and conservative woman, is unexceptionable. She is an *acī'oce* and was married to an *ū'wut'acè*. White-blanket and White-woman, *ū'wut'acè*, have *acī'oce* wives; Yellow-brow, *acī'oce*, is married to an *ū'wut'acè* woman.

According to Bear-gets-up, a member of any clan in the trio of group III might marry into either of the two linked clans. As a matter of fact, the marriage record shows that Big-ox, an *ūsawatsìɛ* had both a *xúxkaraxtsè* and an *acpênuce* wife; that White-arm, *acpênuce*, has an *ī'cirê'te* wife, and Bird-far-away, of the last-named clan, has an *acpênuce* wife.

In group IV, Blackbird-running, of the *ërarapī'o*, had an *ack·ápkawìe* wife.

For group V, the preponderance of evidence points in the opposite direction, but the anomalous character of this and the following group has already been noted. Though Crane-bear's wife, an *àcxatsé*, was married to a *tsi'pawaī'itse* and declares that no comment was aroused by such a marriage, this is strongly denied by others. Bull-all-the-time declared that for an *àcxatsé* to marry a *birik·ō'oce* was as bad as to marry within his own clan. Old-woman went so far as to regard the two clans as one, for when asked for intra-clan marriages known to her, she listed those of three *àcxatsé* married to members of the linked clan.

Both One horn and Hunts-to-die say that members of group VI are not

supposed to intermarry, and Hunts-to-die added that transgressors were subject to the same ridicule as offenders against the *clan* exogamy rule.

There is thus, apparently a striking difference between the attitude of members of groups V and VI as compared with that of members of the other groups. The difficulty at once disappears, of course, if we assume with Old-woman and Arm-round-the-neck that the names in group V do not refer to distinct clans, but are merely different names for the same clan; and accept a corresponding interpretation for the names of group VI on the basis of both Arm-round-the-neck's statements and the account of how the names originated (p. 200). As a matter of fact, it is rather remarkable how rarely the names of the *àcbatcùe*, *tsi'pawaĭ'itse*, and *àcxatsé* occur in the marriage records as compared with nearly all the other clan names, and it would be natural to assume as one of several possible explanations that they are merely little-used nicknames synonymous respectively with names of groups V and VI of the approved list. However, there is too much uncertainty to permit a definite conclusion, and an hypothesis is required for the case that the names actually apply to distinct clans.

A fairly plausible assumption is suggested by the accounts of various informants as to the mutual relations of the linked clans generally. The origin of these relations is indeed obscure. There are fragmentary statements that some of the older clans increased in numbers and were separated into smaller divisions, and that others (such as the *acpénuce* and *xúxkaraxtsè*) were reduced to such an extent that their members joined forces to form a larger whole. But as to the nature of the relationship itself there is fair agreement. Old-dog said that the *ū'wut'acè* and *acĭ'oce* had been on terms of great intimacy ever since he could remember, the members of one clan inviting those of the linked clan to join in their feasts and camping with them on the buffalo hunt. According to Arm-round-the-neck, linked clans helped each other in various ways, and there are several statements that when a young man had performed a creditable deed his praises were sung not only by his father's clansmen, but also by the members of the clan linked with his father's. Thus, Gros-Ventre-horse, son of an *ū'wut'acè*, was praised by the *acĭ'oce* also; and he said that, if Yellow-tail performed some noteworthy deed, both *acitsîte* and *acirārĭ'o* would join in the praise songs. This may, however, be a recent development, for I was told that each of the linked clans of group IV originally sang praise songs only for the sons of members of that clan and that they did not unite for praise-singing until recent times. In a later section it will be pointed out that the peculiar joking relationship probably obtained between all the children of members of linked clans (see p. 205). In the anomalous case of marriage within the clan, the father's clansmen are, of course, also fellow-clansmen of the children

which would naturally affect the children's attitude toward them (see p. 201). In such a case, Arm-round-the-neck explained, members of the linked clan received the consideration ordinarily given to father's clansmen and were regarded as *ásaʻkùe* (see p. 208).

It is conceivable that, just as in the instances last cited there seems to have been an extension of what were primarily clan functions, so the clan trait of exogamy may have been extended in some instances to the larger clan-associations. That is to say, we may assume that in some cases the coupled clans had become affiliated to such an extent as to become *one* for marriage-regulating purposes, while in other cases that stage of intimacy was never reached and, for all we know, might never have been reached even had Crow institutions remained undisturbed.

The fact that groups V and VI seem to be characterized by "phratric" exogamy thus admits of explanation. On the other hand, according to my records intra-"phratric" marriages were almost twice as numerous as marriages within the clan. Still more conclusive is the general difference in attitude towards marriage within the clan and marriage with a member of the linked clan of groups I–IV. There was not a single informant that did not regard marriage with a fellow-clansman as improper, while marriages between members of linked clans of the first four groups were, generally speaking, declared unobjectionable and in no case viewed in the same light as a transgression of clan exogamy. My conclusion, therefore, is that among the Crow we are not dealing with phratries but with loose associations of clans, some of which may have become more closely allied than others.

List of Clan Affiliations.

For the purpose of getting objective data on the intermarriages of the clans, I secured the clan affiliations of informants, together with those of their mates. Owing to the former polygamous practices of the Crow, a rather large body of material might thus have been collected, if I had begun to gather the information at a sufficiently early stage of my work. Unfortunately, the importance of such an inquiry only occurred to me towards the end, and in many cases I was obliged to rely on second-hand statements as to the clan affiliations. The data thus obtained are, indeed, trustworthy so far as they go, for the clan affiliations of fellow-tribesmen are very well known among the older men and women, but of course I could not in this way obtain information on previous marriages or as to the clans of the fathers of the individuals in question. With a limited number of recorded marriages and the large number of combinations possible in a community of

thirteen clans, it is, of course, impossible to draw any valuable statistical conclusions. Accordingly, the non-occurrence of certain combinations must not be regarded as significant. Nevertheless, the record has been of some service in checking information otherwise obtained.

Two informants, Gros-Ventre-horse and On-both-sides, were adopted into a clan other than their own, and it is not easy, accordingly, to classify their matrimonial relationships with those of others. Gros-Ventre-horse was born an *ū'wut'acè*, but adopted into the *ërarapī'o*, his father's clan. His wives have been *acirārī'o*, *birik·ō'oce*, *acpénuce*, and two of them *acī'oce*. On-both-sides, the oldest living Crow, was also born into the *ū'wut'acè*, but was adopted into the *xúxkaraxtsè*. Her son, Coyote-looks-up, is reckoned as a *xúxkaraxtsè*, but apparently because he was also adopted by the same woman who adopted his mother. On-both-sides' husbands were *àcxatsê acirārī'o*, and *àcbatcúe*.

Bull's-neck, High-ground-cedar and Arm-round-the-neck of the *acirārī'o* clan have had *acitsi'te* wives. Crane-bear and Sparrow-hawk of the *acitsîte* have married *acirārī'o* women, the former having done so twice.

Plain-warrior, Bull-tail, No-necklace, and Arm-round-the-neck of the *acirārī'o* clan have had *acī'oce* wives. Píe rū̀pec, I'tsi'tsiè-isā'kac, Sour-face, and Old-dog,— all *acī'oce* — have had *acirārī'o* wives, the last-mentioned Crow having twice married into that clan.

Arm-round-the-neck and Horn of the *acirārī'o* clan have had *ū'wut'acè* wives. Old-horn and Rides-a-white-horse of the *ū'wut'acè* have had *acirārī'o* wives.

Arm-round-the-neck, Left-hand, and Bull-chief's father, all *acirārī'o*, have had *ū'sawatsìE* wives. Big-ox and Bell-rock of the *ū'sawatsìE* have been married to *acirārī'o* women.

Grandmother's-knife, *acirārī'o*, has had a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife. Horse, Good-luck, and Arm-round-the-neck's father, all *xúxkaraxtsè*, had *acirārī'o* wives.

Fights-alone and Arm-round-the-neck, *acirārī'o*, have *ërarapī'o* wives. Child-in-the-mouth, *ërarapī'o*, has an *acirārī'o* wife.

Plain-bull, Bird-hat, High-land-bird, Pushing, and Bird-high, of the *acirārī'o*, have *ack·ápkawìe* wives. Old-crane and Medicine-crow's father, *ack·ápkawie*, married *acirārī'o* women.

Arm-round-the-neck, *acirārī'o*, married a *tsi'pawāi'itse*. Sharp-horn, Turns-back-plenty, Leader, Pretty-coyote, Bird-above's father, and Bull-all-the-time — all *birik·ō'oce* — had *acirārī'o* wives, the last-mentioned informant having married two women of that clan.

Bird-above and Medicine-crow, *acirārī'o*, have *ack·ámne* wives. Packs-hat, Whinnies, and (old) Spotted-horse have *acirārī'o* wives.

Bear-ghost, Not-afraid, and White-man-runs-him, *acitsîte,* have *acī'oce* wives. Old-dog, Crane-bear's father, Long-bangs, Crazy-man, and Plenty-coups, *acī'oce,* had *acitsîte* wives, Old-dog having married three women of this clan.

Yellow-mule, *ū'wut'acè,* is married to an *acitsîte.*

Crane-bear, *acitsîte,* had an *ū'sawatsiè* wife. Big-ox, *ū'sawatsiè,* had an *acitsîte* wife. Flat-head-woman and Young-jack-rabbit, *acitsîte* had *ī'cirḕte* wives; and Chief Wolf-lies-down and Blood, *ī'cirḕte,* had *acitsîte* wives.

One-blue-bead, *acitsîte,* has a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife. Dirtied-face, Covers-up and One-blue-bead's father, *xúxkaraxtsè,* have *acitsîte* wives.

Pretty-on-the-top, *acitsîte,* married an *acpénuce*; Gray-bull, *acpénuce,* an *acitsîte.*

Alligator, *ërarapī'o,* has an *acitsîte* wife.

Steals-moccasins and Beard, *acitsîte,* had *ack·ápkawiè* wives. Land-on-the-other-side, *ack·ápkawiè,* had an *acitsîte* wife.

Crane-bear, Ear-cutter, Yellow-tail, One-star, *acitsîte,* have *birik·ō'oce* wives. Crane-bear's present wife is *àcxatsé.* Bull-all-the-time, Big-snake, and Old-white-man, *birik·ō'oce,* have *acitsîte* wives.

Bad-horse, *acitsîte,* has an *ack·ámne* wife. Bear-gets-up and Black-hawk, *ack·ámne,* are married to *acitsîte* women.

Yellow-brow, *acī'oce,* has an *ū'wut'acè,* wife, and Bull-weasel's mother, *acī'oce,* had an *ū'wut'acè* husband. White-blanket and White-woman, *ū'wut'acè,* have *acī'oce* wives.

Hunts-darts and Not-mixed, *acī'oce,* had *ī'cirḕte* wives; Old-dog and Anácecī'ruc, *acī'oce,* had *ū'sawatsìE* wives, the former having two. Big-ox and Crazy-crane, *ū'sawatsìE,* were married to *acī'oce* women.

Old-dog, *acī'oce,* was married to two *xúxkaraxtsè.* Sacred-fetlocks and Yellow-face, *xúxkaraxtsè,* had *acī'oce* wives.

Old-dog, *acī'oce,* was married to an *acpénuce.*

He-says, *acī'oce,* has an *ërarapī'o* wife.

Hunts-to-die, Dog-bear, and Short-boy, *acī'oce,* have *ack·ápkawìe* wives. Tail-tip, *ack·ápkawìe* is married to an *acī'oce,* and so is Magpie, *ack·ápkawìe.*

Bad-man, *acī'oce,* is married to a *tsi'pawaï'itse.* Old-dog, *acī'oce,* had a wife of the *birik·ō'oce* clan. Bull-all-the-time, *birik·ō'oce,* had an *acī'oce* wife.

Three-bears, Standing-on-a-bull, and Yellow-crane, *acī'oce,* have *ack·ámne* wives. Old-dog's father, Hunts-to-die's father, and Talking-pipe, *ack·ámne,* were married to *acī'oce.*

Shot-in-the-arm, *ū'wut'acè,* has an *ū'sawatsìe* wife. Lone-tree and Big-ox, *ū'sawatsìE,* had *ū'wut'ace* wives.

Ralph Saco, *ū'wut'acè*, is married to a *xúxkaraxtsè*. Both his father and his maternal grandfather were *xúxkaraxtsè*, who married *ū'wut'acè* women. Bear-does-not-walk, *xúxkaraxtsè*, also has an *ū'wut'acè* wife.

Shot-in-the-arm, *ū'wut'acè*, has an *acpénuce* wife. Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, had an *ū'wut'acè* wife.

It-fits, *ū'wut'acè*, has an *ack·ápkawìe* wife.

Shot-in-the-hand's father and Shot-in-the-arm, both *ū'wut'acè*, married *birik·ō'oce* women. Bull-all-the-time and White-bull, *birik·ō'oce*, had *ū'wut'acè* wives.

Shot-in-the-arm's father, *àcbatcúe*, was married to an *ū'wut'acè*.

Big-ox, *ū'sawatsìE*, had a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife.

Big-ox, *ū'sawatsìE*, had an *acpénuce* wife. Bird-far-away, *ī'cirê'te*, has an *acpénuce* wife, and White-arm, *acpénuce* is married to an *ī'cirê'te*.

Thunder-iron and Shows-his-teeth, *ū'sawatsìe*, are married to *ack·ápkawìe* women. Prairie-Gros-Ventre, *ack·ápkawìe*, has an *ī'cirê'te* wife.

Big-ox, *ū'sawatsìE*, was married to a *tsi'pawaī'itse*. Sharp-horn's father, *ū'sawatsìE*, had a *birik·ō'oce* wife; Bull-all-the-time, *birik·ō'oce*, an *ū'sawatsìE* wife.

Old-woman's father, *ū'sawatsìE*, married an *àcxatsé*. Old-woman, *àcxatsé*, had an *ū'sawatsìe* husband.

Bull-chief, Old-coyote, and Bear-gets-up's father, *ū'sawatsìE*, had each an *ack·ámne* wife, as did Knows-his-coups, *ī'cirê'te*.

Good-tail, Big-hail, and Bird-tail-rattles, *xúxkaraxtsè*, had *birik·ō'oce* wives. Red-eyes and Knows-his-gun, *birik·ō'oce*, have each a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife, and Bull-all-the-time had two wives of that clan. Old-woman, *àcxatsé*, was married to a *xúxkaraxtsè* man.

Spotted-rabbit and White-hat, *xúxkaraxtsè*, married *ack·ámne* women. Pō'tec, Flat-dog, and Ūu'cièc, *ack·ámne* had *xúxkaraxtsè* wives.

Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, had an *erarapī'o* wife.

Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, had an *ack·ápkawie* wife.

Gray-bull's mother was *acpénuce*, his father *birik·ō'oce*.

Blackbird-running, *ërarapī'o*, has an *ack·ápkawìe* wife.

Plenty-tracks, *ërarapī'o*, has a *birik·ō'oce* wife; Rides-the-best-horse, *birik·ō'oce*, an *ërarapī'o* wife.

Small, *ack·ápkawìe*, married a *birik·ō'oce*, Corner-of-the-mouth, *tsi'pawaī'itse*, has an *ack·ápkawìe* wife.

Bright-wing, *ack·ápkawìe*, has an *ack·ámne* wife.

Shot-in-the-hand, Bear-claw, and Bread, *birik·ō'oce* have *ack·ámne* wives. Crane-bear's wife, *àcxatsé*, was formerly married to a *tsi'pawaī'itse*.

Bull-all-the-time, *birik·ō'oce*, had an *àcbatcúe* wife.

Origin Traditions.

Strictly speaking, there are no traditions accounting for the origin of clans, but merely fragmentary statements, for the most part giving a naïvely rationalistic reason for the adoption of certain clan names.

Shot-in-the-arm's wife said: "In the beginning there were certain families, all of one clan. Later, but very long ago, a chief divided the people into different clans, and from that time on the division remained."

The *i'pi'skurucè* received the name *ack·ámne* because on one occasion several clansmen went on the warpath and abandoned one of their party who had been shot. The other Indians said, "The members of this clan are like the Piegan," whence the name. A more frequent and plausible explanation is that the incident mentioned gave rise to the name *ácbatcúe* for the Piegan clan, the awl being apparently the symbol of perfidy and meanness.[1] According to this version, the name *ack·ámne* was due to the fact that a member of the clan named One-eye killed another Crow, thus acting like a Piegan enemy. The name "No-ear lodge" is connected with the Piegan clan, one member having cut off his wife's ear as a punishment for adultery.

Fire-weasel said that the *àcbatsī'rise* were so named because they married within the clan, "not opening their eyes" to see whom they were marrying.

isā'tskawìe is given as the old name of the *ū'wut'acè*. Once this clan left the main body of the Crow for several weeks in search of food. They killed fat buffalo, and when they had eaten of the meat, their expectoration burnt like tallow in the fire, whence their name.

According to Bull-chief, the *ū'sawatsìE* clan was called "Not-mixed" because most of the members were war captains; that is to say, it was a clan in which captains were "not mixed" with other people.

Gray-bull declared that one of his ancestors must have eaten dung, since his clan was called *acpénuce;* that the ancestor of the *birik·ō'oce* whistled while swimming about in the water; that the *acitsi'te* had bigger lodge poles than other clans; and so forth.

According to Crane-bear, a woman in a certain clan was clumsy and put up a tipi that looked spotted and not properly scraped on the outside, wherefore her people were called *àcxatsé*.

Bull-chief says that the Pretty Prairie Dogs adopted into the Medicine-Pipe organization a Sioux named "Whistling Water," and thereafter the other people called them by the same name. *acpénuce* was a name con-

[1] Morgan translates "Treacherous Lodges," Curtis "Backbiter Lodge."

ferred on a clan because the wife of one member ran away with another man, and when her husband brought her back he made her eat dung by way of punishment.

It should be noted that most of these explanations take no account of the fact of matrilineal descent among the Crow.

The Father's Clan.

From several statements it appeared that the paternal clan had nothing to do with the regulation of marriages. One-blue-bead's wife and father were both *xúxkaraxtsè*. Ralph Saco, himself an *ū' wut'acè*, married a *xúxkaraxtsè* though his father belonged to that clan; and, what is more, his mother's father was also a *xúxkaraxtsè*, that is to say, his mother also married one of her father's fellow-clansmen. That this is not a liberty peculiar to children of *xúxkaraxtsè* men, is shown by Bull-chief, whose father was an *acirarī'o*, but who nevertheless married two women of that clan. There was at first complete agreement as to the perfect propriety of such a marriage. During my most recent visit, however, I encountered a few individuals who assumed a different position. Old-woman said that it was as bad to marry into a father's clan as into one's own, and that she herself had been derided by her joking-relatives for having married a "father" of hers. However, Old-woman is alone in this extreme attitude. Arm-round-the-neck said that a person was not laughed at so much for marrying a member of his or her father's clan as for marrying a fellow-clansman. Finally, On-both-sides explained that it did not look well for people to marry into their father's clan, but that it was done, and that little was said about such marriages provided there was no close blood relationship between the individuals in question.

While there is thus little evidence for any marriage-regulating function of the paternal clan at any time, there are a number of usages that depend solely on a person's father's clan. From these customs, some speculatively inclined ethnologist might argue that the Crow at one time had a gentile system with paternal descent, and the argument would be as plausible as that often advanced in favor of a pristine system of maternal descent.

Members of one's father's clan are treated with great respect, "like medicines" (iɛxbā'ra+u karakō'tbuk), as Old-dog said. A person would not walk in front of them, no matter what might be their age or sex. Regardless of age, the father's clansmen are addressed as "father" (but see p. 208). This, for example, was the term applied by Gray-bull, a man of about sixty-five, to an interpreter in his twenties. Sometimes men were

invited to a feast by one of their fellow-clansmen's children. Hunts-to-die says that the son of an *acī'oce* man sometimes invited all the members of that clan to a feast. When they had done eating, the man nearest the door was asked, "What shall you give to your son?" He might reply, "I dreamt of the ripening plums and chokecherries, and I give this to the boy" (that is to say, "he shall live until the next time the plums and chokecherries are ripe"). The next man possibly gave him, that is, prophesied for him, a coup or the killing of an enemy. One clansman might say, "I dreamt I saw a very old man. I give this to the boy; may he become very old!" When all had spoken, the host rose, and said, "If I strike a coup in the next battle, I will give a horse to So-and-so (the man that gave him a coup); if I see the chokecherry blossom, I will give a blanket to So-and-so," etc. In the old days, when a boy had returned from a war expedition and brought back a horse or otherwise creditably acquitted himself, his father's fellow-clansmen came towards his lodge, performed a short dance there, and then sang laudatory songs. When Yellow-tail shot his first deer, a similar performance was planned, but owing to the breakdown of ancient customs the project was not put into execution. According to Gros-Ventre-horse, it was not only the father's own clan, but the clan linked with it as well, that rejoiced over a young man's exploits (see p. 241). Names of honor were derived from some father's fellow-clansman, and nicknames were conferred on account of some ridiculous action performed by a man or woman in the paternal clan (see p. 216). The name given at birth was also frequently conferred by a member of the father's clan.

Contests. A peculiar form of contest about war honors sometimes occurred between the *sons* of men belonging to one clan and the *sons* of the men of another clan. Shot-in-the-arm and Gray-bull said that such contests were between the clans themselves, the former authority describing the competition between *birik·ō'oce* and *ū'wut'acè*, while Gray-bull referred to a similar contest between *acitsi'te* and *ū'sawatsìE*. Gros-Ventre-horse even denied that these divisions were necessarily along clan lines, saying that the rivalry might be between any two groups of young men. Though the last-named informant thus made the contesting groups quite indefinite, Hunts-to-die and Sharp-horn specified that one side embraced the sons of the men of one clan while the opposing side was made up by the sons of men of the *linked* clan. For example, the sons of the *xúxkaraxtsè* opposed the sons of the *ū'sawatsìE* (Sharp-horn), and the sons of the *ack·ámne*, those of the *àcbatcúe* (Hunts-to-die). Probably each of the apparently contradictory statements is correct. That is to say, contests about the number of war honors may sometimes have been held by groups of heterogeneous constitution, while the established clan system presented a natural line of

cleavage that was ordinarily followed. However this may be, a comparison of the following two accounts shows that the procedure was alike, whether the grouping was by clans or by fathers' clans.

Shot-in-the-arm tells of a contest between the Whistling-Water and the Greasy-Mouth clans of the River Crow division. The members of the two groups seated themselves on opposite sides of a tipi. Each side had one spokesman. The representative of the Whistling-Water men first proclaimed the number of picketed horses cut by each of his fellow-clansmen in turn. In this count he was assisted by the members themselves. Throughout the contest not only the deeds of clan members belonging to the River Crow, but also those of clansmen in the two other local divisions were taken into consideration. When the reckoning up of both sides had been completed, the spokesman of the winning group planted a stick into the ground. Next the respective numbers of guns taken by the contesting clans were established in the same way. Then followed the number of coups struck, and the number of successful war captains (not of successful war parties led by the captains). The number of married women abducted was also counted. According to Shot-in-the-arm, the Greasy-Mouths scored heavily on every count, but his testimony is not quite trustworthy as he himself belongs to that clan. He saw such a contest, which he calls *matdacpī'o*, only once. According to him, the men that won generally made their children give away presents, but this was not compulsory.[1]

Hunts-to-die narrates how on another occasion the sons of the *ack·ámne* met the sons of the *àcbatcûe* in corresponding fashion. When the members of these groups had assembled in a large tipi, they divided according to their fathers' clans, each group sitting on one side of the lodge. Several buckets of wild carrot soup had been prepared for the occasion. Each side chose an older man for leader, then they began to recount their creditable deeds, each group endeavoring to excel the other. Tally sticks pegged in the ground were used to record the respective numbers of exploits and as soon as one man had falsely boasted of some deed the opposite side immediately plucked out the corresponding counter. The first thing discussed was the number of war leaders. A captain on one side rose, and said, "I had so many followers, and did so and so." He mentioned every successful party he had led, planting a tally stick into the ground for each one. Then a captain from the other side rose to recount deeds for his side. If he was able to outdo his predecessor, his adherents hallooed for joy. The next points ascertained were the number of coups struck; the number of times

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[1] According to Gray-bull, the members of the losing side were obliged to bring pemmican to feast their opponents.

members had dismounted to rescue fellow-tribesmen from a pursuing enemy; the number of horses stolen from the enemy; the number of guns captured; the number of men wounded by the enemy; the number of horses wounded or killed in battle; the number of mules or race horses captured; the number of women "thrown away" by either side; the number of scouts; the number of enemies slain; the number of times tribesmen had been made to ride the same horse with members; the number of war parties that had killed enemies; and the number of horse-raids. Hunts-to-die won the victory one season, having stolen five horses and killed one enemy. When both sides had scored for each count, the victors rose, sang and danced, and gave presents to their joking-relatives.[1] Then a feast was prepared in which all the guests joined. There was no hostility at all between the opposing sides.

Joking Relationship. Persons whose fathers belonged to the same clan stood to one another in a special relationship,— one was the *ī'watkucè*[2] of the other. Thus, Hunts-to-die, himself a Sore-lip, was permitted to joke with the sons of *ack·ámne* men, because his father was a member of that clan.

The term "joking" in this connection requires further explanation. An *ī'watkucè* was permitted to play practical jokes on another without incurring his anger. For example, a man finding a joking-relative's wagon outside a house may reverse the wheels. Under ordinary circumstances, the owner of the wagon would resent such action, but as soon as he finds out who has played the joke he cannot get angry, though he may cast about for a chance to retaliate. However, one of the principal notions connected with the institution described is the privilege of certain people to make others ashamed of themselves. For example, if a person had committed some act that was considered wrong, one of his *ī'watkucè* might twit him with it and publicly disgrace him, yet such action must not be resented. If Hunts-to-die wore old clothes for a long time without providing himself with new apparel, some *ī'watkucè* would tear up his old clothes and present him with a new suit. This made him ashamed.

If a man continued to live with the same woman for a long time, one of his joking-relatives might twit him with it, saying, "You are next to a dead thing," (*"dī wacé rúck·usàxke'etɛk"*). For, Gray-bull explained, women might be likened to a herd of buffalo, and the man who always lived with one wife was like a hunter who, after killing the last of the fleeing buffalo, has not heart enough to pursue the rest. Sometimes the sons of fellow-

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1 See below. My notes add "of the other side", which is unintelligible unless the joking-relationship was extended to sons of members of the same clan-*association*.

2 *bīwatkucè*, "my joking-relative."

clansmen teased each other about war parties. One would say, "I have brought back a horse but you did not."

One of Fire-weasel's wife's joking-relatives was a young, good-looking man, but he married an old maid. She spoke to him as follows: "You had better marry a frog, or a mouse, or some other animal, than marry an old maid. What is an old maid good for?" The man addressed never said a word, but merely sat there laughing.

A woman was told by her joking-relatives: "You are not good enough to attract any man"; or, "you have never put up a tent"; "you have never beaded any blankets"; "you have eloped many times" ("*di* + *arē'tuk*"); "you are exceedingly lazy, you never do beadwork or make moccasins for your husband." Both male and female joking-relatives were permitted to reproach a woman in this manner.

According to Gros-Ventre-horse, the privilege of joking obtains not only between sons of fellow-clansmen, but also between sons of members of linked clans. Thus, Robert Yellow-tail may joke not only with sons of *acitsi'te*, but also of *acirarī'o* men; and similarly sons of *acpénuce*, *ū'sawatsɪ̀ᴇ*, and *xúxkaraxtsè* may joke with one another. This is corroborated by Old-dog.[1]

A stereotyped method of procedure, mentioned by many informants, was for one of the jokers to cut off a lock of a "relative's" hair, saying, "I married you, and I am throwing you away." In such a case the person whose hair was cut was entitled to get a good horse by way of compensation; if an entire braid of hair was cut, he would receive four horses. One-horn said that the cut hair was given to a chief, who would put it on a war shirt or shield.

The following concrete instances were given by Bull-chief. Two joking-relatives named Smoke and Hairy respectively, the sons of two *acī'oce* men, were once disputing about their coups. Suddenly Hairy got angry, took his knife and cut off a long braid of hair from Smoke's head. By way of compensation, he gave Smoke his best horse. The Indians said, "He is like a man who has thrown away his wife." According to my notes, Hairy was more or less looked down upon thereafter, while Smoke got a good reputation. It is highly probable, however, that the names have been interchanged, for other informants agree that it was the man who lost his hair that was disgraced. Some, I was told, would rather die than suffer this indignity. A few years ago a man named Young-wolf met a woman whose father, like his own, was a Whistling-Water. He cut off a lock of her hair, tied it to a long stick and carried it about the camp, singing. The

[1] Cf. also p. 204, footnote.

woman had two sons, who urged her to retaliate. Accordingly, she once sneaked up to him from behind while he was seated and cut off some of his hair, which she likewise attached to a stick and carried through camp, singing. She gave Young-wolf three horses; he had also given her many presents. Bull-chief adds that people were ashamed to have their hair cut by a joking-relative.

Bull-weasel's mother says that women never cut each other's hair.

If a Crow had rescued a fellow-tribesman in battle and chanced upon someone about to clip a joking-relative's hair, he might walk up to the latter and say, "On such and such an occasion I saved a Crow, and now I will save you also." Then the would-be haircutter always desisted.

The Hidatsa also had the joking relationship between sons of fellow-clansmen, and the following special analogy with the Crow custom is of comparative interest. If one joking-relative (makútsati) had gained the honor of first striking an enemy, he might cut off a lock from another *makútsati's* hair, saying, "I cut off the scalp of a man of this size." As soon as he had put hand on the other's hair, the latter would exclaim, "Well, brother, you will give me your best horse!" Sometimes he might say instead, "Very well, cut it, you will give me your wife!" Sometimes the successful warrior would say to his *makútsati*, "I struck an enemy of this size," at the same time dealing his joking-relative a heavy blow as if he were an enemy. As among the Crow, a joking-relative never got angry at another.[1]

Résumé.

The social organization of the Crow is thus characterized by a division of the tribe into a number of exogamous units with maternal descent, these clans being grouped together in six or seven nameless, for the most part non-exogamous, clan-associations of probably later origin. Linked clans were on friendly terms with each other and fraternized on tribal hunts; possibly the tendency not to marry a member of one's linked clan, which occurs in two associations, may be viewed as the last step in the progressive affiliation of originally quite distinct clans. While marriage regulations had to do only with one's own clan, or one's own clan-association, or at most in a subordinate way with the father's clan, a considerable number of customs, including the joking-relationship and the derivation of personal and nicknames, were dependent on the paternal clan, which is accordingly of very great importance in the social life of the tribe.

[1] These data were obtained from Wolf-chief at Independence, Ft. Berthold Reservation, North Dakota.

Compared with other tribes in the Plains area, the Crow show practically no similarity with any people but the Hidatsa, and even in this one instance the relationship is not especially close unless contrasted with the differences between Crow and Hidatsa on the one hand and all the neighboring tribes on the other. The Crow and Hidatsa systems resemble each other in being founded on the exogamous clan with maternal descent, while all other tribes of the region that have been studied with reference to their social organization had either no definite social subdivisions at all or followed the rule of patrilineal descent.[1] Here, however, the resemblance ends. While the clans of both tribes bear designations of the nickname type, this trait is too widely diffused to be significant, and there is not a single clan name in either tribe that corresponds to a clan name in the other. Among the Crow there is no suggestion of a dual division, while the Hidatsa clans are assembled in two moieties distinguished by the number of their constituent units as the Three-Clans and Four-Clans. Obviously, these definite social groups cannot be considered the equivalents of the six nameless Crow clan-associations.

It thus appears that not only are the Crow and Hidatsa quite different from the surrounding Plains tribes of both the Siouan and other stocks, but even between the Crow and Hidatsa there are far-reaching differences. Accordingly, we cannot advance in any positive way the theory that their social systems are but differentiations from an older system that existed prior to their separation.

RELATIONSHIP.

Terms of Relationship.[2]

The Crow system of relationship shares a number of important characteristics with that found in several other Siouan languages. Among these is the frequent use of distinct terms by men and women for what we should consider the same relationship, and the extensive use of terms in direct address different from those used in speaking *of* one's own or another's relatives. One of the peculiarities of the Crow system that, so far as I know, differentiates it from that of most other American tribes, is the occasional neglect of differences of generation. Thus, as will be seen presently, a grandson is addressed in the same way as a son, and a mother's brother is regarded as an elder brother.

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[1] The Mandan in all probability resembled the Hidatsa in this point, but it seems doubtful whether their old social organization can still be determined in a satisfactory way.

[2] See p. 248.

The following list must not be regarded as exhaustive nor the translations as more than tentative. After repeated revision I came to the conclusion that nothing short of a perfect knowledge of the Crow language would suffice for a perfect list of terms of consanguinity and affinity. For, in addition to the common enough multiplicity of meanings for any one term when translated into English, the student of the Crow has to deal with distinct native terms expressing delicate shades of meaning that are fully known only to the older Indians. In the following enumeration the Crow terms are given with their several meanings, so far as ascertained, and together with such comment as was obtained.

aksé is a word used for "his (or her) parents."

axé is used by males in directly addressing a father, a mother's sister's husband, a father's sister's husband, a father's brother, and any male member of the father's clan regardless of his age as compared with the speaker's. Coextensive in application, but used exclusively in speaking *of* "my father," is the term *mirúpxe*, which changes to *dī'rupxe* and *irúpxe* for the second and third person, respectively, of the possessive pronoun. *irúpxe* and its variants are also used of a man's father-in-law. From this I feel practically convinced, though I do not positively know, that when a man speaks to his father-in-law at all he calls him *axé*.

basbā'xi'e is used, probably by both sexes, in speaking of a father's own or clan sister.

mā'sa'ke is used by men, and perhaps also by women, in speaking of a father's clan (and possibly also of his own) brother. In a prayer recorded during my first visit to the Crow, the sun is addressed as *mā'sa'ka*, which my then interpreter translated "uncle." However, another interpreter declared that in address the term was inadmissible, and should be replaced by *axé*. The word seems to contain an element meaning "old" which also appears in the terms next to be considered. *ásа'ke* (plural, *ásа'kùe*) is the form as used without a possessive prefix.

axé isá'ke is used by males in addressing, and *mirúpx-isà'ke* in speaking of, a father's or mother's father.

masā'ka is the female term of address for a father, a father's brother, a father's sister's husband, and a husband's father. The coextensive term used in speaking *of* these relatives is formed by changing the terminal *a* to *e*. Corresponding to this difference and to the formation of the men's word for "grandfather," we find for the women's equivalents *masā'k-isà'ka* and *masā'k-isà'ke* respectively.

bī'watkucè, "my joking relative" (see p. 204), may be applied by both sexes in speaking of any child of a father's fellow-clansman.

i'g·a' is used by both sexes in addressing a mother, a mother's own or

clan sister, a father's brother's wife, and a father's sister. A woman thus addresses her husband's mother and, provided the mother-in-law taboo has been removed (see p. 209), a man calls his wife's mother by the same designation.

masa'kê, used only in speaking *of* an individual, seems to be coextensive with *i'g·a'*.

masa'kā'are, according to my most recent notes, is used by both sexes for "my grandmother," whether in direct address or in the third person. An earlier note indicates a change to *masa'kāarë'* for the non-vocative form.

irō'oce is used by both sexes in addressing male persons who call the speaker *axé* or *i'g·a'*. That is to say, it is applied by a man to his own son, his own brother's or clan brother's son; and by a woman to her own son, her own sister's or clan sister's son, her brother's son, and (provided the taboo has been removed) to her daughter's husband. *irō'oce* is moreover the only term used in directly addressing one's son's or daughter's son. That is to say, in direct address the difference in generation between a son and a grandson is ignored.

xū'utse is applied by both sexes, whether in direct address or in speaking in the third person, to all those females addressing the speaker as *masā'ka* or *i'g·a'*. It is also employed by both sexes in speaking to or of a granddaughter.

barā'ke,[1] used by both sexes but never in direct address, means "my child" without sex specification. In order to designate the sex, the words for "man" and "woman," respectively, are suffixed: *barā'kbatsè̀*, "my son"; *barā'kbī̀e,* "my daughter." *barā'ke* and these derivatives are applicable to all persons whom the speaker might address as *irō'oce* or *xū'utse.* Thus, grandparents may refer to their grandchildren in this way although there is also a distinct term, to be noted below. When a grandchild is small, the diminutive *k·āta* is suffixed. Moreover, a parent-in-law of either sex refers to his child's spouse as *barā'kbatsè̀* or *barā'kbī̀e* according to sex, that is, as "my son" or "my daughter."

irō'oce, xū'utse, and *barā'ke* are all applicable to adopted and stepchildren, though a stepchild may also be spoken of as *basā̀tsi'ke',* "my stepchild."

màcbāpi'te is used by both sexes in referring to a grandchild of either sex.

bī'ik·a is the term used by males in addressing an elder brother or clan brother, a mother's brother whether older or younger than the speaker, a father's brother's son or father's sister's son or mother's sister's son older

[1] From *dā'ke,* "child."

than the speaker. In changing this term to the non-vocative form, the terminal vowel becomes *e*.

basā'are is the term by which females address an elder brother or clan brother, a mother's brother (probably regardless of age), a mother's sister's son or a father's brother's son or a father's sister's son older than the speaker, and a sister's husband older than the speaker. The non-vocative form is given as *basārëë*.

matsū'ka, changed for the non-vocative form to *matsū'ke*, is applied by both sexes to a younger brother and to those persons defined under the two terms immediately preceding by the rule of correlation that a person is called *matsū'ka* by those whom he or she addresses as *bī'ik·a* or *basā'are*, respectively. Thus, as a Crow calls his mother's brother *bī'ik·a*, the latter addresses his "nephew" (according to our English terminology) as *matsū'ka*. A woman calls her sister's husband *matsū'ka* if he is younger than herself.

bacik·ā'ake, literally, "my boy," is sometimes used in a non-vocative sense instead of *matsū'ke*. An older brother may also call his younger brother *marā'axe*, "Crazy."

bàsak'ā'ata is the term used by both sexes in addressing an elder sister, or clan sister, and a mother's sister's daughter or a father's sister's daughter or a father's brother's daughter older than the speaker. The non-vocative form changes the terminal vowel to *e*.

bàsa'tsī'ita (non-vocative form, *bàsa'tsī'ite*) is used by males in addressing a younger or clan sister, a mother's sister's daughter, a father's sister's daughter, and a father's brother's daughter.

basō'oka (non-vocative, *basō'oke*) is the term applied by females to a younger sister or clan sister, and all those of her own sex who call the speaker *bàsa'kā'ata*.

baku'pe is a word used by both sexes in speaking of those relatives addressed as *bī'ik·a*, *matsū'ka*, *basā'are*, *bàsa'kā'ata*, *bàsa'tsī'ita*, *basō'oka*. It is also used of fellow-clansfolk; for example, if a man marries within his clan, other Indians say, "akúpe áxpëc," "He has married his sister."

bacbatsê (literally, "my man") and *bacbī'ɛ* (literally, "my woman") are employed by both sexes in speaking to or of a fellow-clansman and fellow-clanswoman respectively.

In polygamous marriages all the children called all the wives "mother" so long as they continued to live with their common husband. Accordingly, all the children were one another's brothers and sisters and used the appropriate relationship term according to age and sex. If the common father died and one of the wives re-married, she was no longer called "mother" by the children of other wives. Women married to the same man might call one another *hī'ra*, the word applied by any woman to a comrade of her

own sex (see p. 212); they might also address one another by name. It should be noted in this connection that wives of a common husband were not infrequently sisters or "cousins" in our sense who were regarded as younger and elder sisters.

The terms applied to each other by husband and wife depended on the permanence of their matrimonial relationship. If a woman was sure of being kept by her husband all her life, she would call him by his name. If the husband had no intention of casting her off he would either address her by name or by the term *hë'ha*, the second syllable of which is said to indicate a request or command. If a woman felt that she might be divorced for having an illicit attachment or for some other reason, she addressed her husband as *hirā'kɛk*. In such a case she spoke of her husband as *ī'rɛ'k*, "that one," or *ī'wɛ'k*, "that one who is moving," and the same terms would be used by the husband in referring to her. *áxpe*, a stem apparently indicating companionship in any sense, may be used verbally for "to marry" and substantively for "his spouse." I am not sure that it is used of a husband as well as of a wife. *úɛ* is the ordinary term for "his wife," varied to *búɛ* and *du'ɛ* for the first and second person, respectively, of the possessive. *tsiré* is the word for "husband" generally, but is never used in address. It might be employed, for example, by parents-in-law speaking to their daughter of her husband.

As explained elsewhere, a man is ordinarily tabooed from conversing with his parents-in-law, hence there are no specific modes of address. The term *bucé* may be used in referring to them, as well as to one's wife's brother's wife or other connections tabooed from conversation. I understand the word to be used reciprocally. However, in speaking of a wife's parents, it is more respectful for a man to call them *bacbā'-xarîe*, "my old ones," while the mother-in-law may be referred to as *basxārîe*, "my old one," a designation also employed by grown-up men in speaking of their own mothers.

As already indicated, a woman addresses her parents-in-law as if they were her own parents. In referring to them, she may use both *masā'ke* and *bas'isā'ke* for the father-in-law, and *masa'kê*, *back·ā'are* ("my old woman"), or *ī'rɛ'k k·ā'are* ("that old woman") for the mother-in-law.

bā'acì is the men's mode of addressing the husband of a sister or of a clan sister; reciprocally, it is used in speaking to a wife's brother. The non-vocative form, *barā'ace*, changes to *dirā'ace* and *irā'ace* for the second and third person of the possessive, respectively. As my wife calls her mother's brother her own brother, he becomes my brother-in-law in Crow nomenclature. My wife's elder sister is *buáwa+isè*, her younger sister *bu'akaricì'ta*,[1]

[1] I do not know whether these two terms are used in address or only in the non-vocative.

while my wife's sister's husband is my "brother," according to his age as compared with mine.

bu'aka, or *bu'ake* in the non-vocative, is a man's way of addressing, or speaking of, his own brother's or his clan brother's wife. For obvious reasons, it is also applied to a mother's brother's wife.

baku'pkā̀ta (non-vocative-*e*) is said to indicate greater respect, and is also used by women in the sense defined below.

bactsité is used by a woman in speaking of her husband's own brother or clan brother, regardless of his age as compared with the speaker's. In direct address she calls him her elder or younger brother, according to his relative age, or may even address him, if younger, as *irō'oce*.

A husband's sister is addressed by a woman as *xū'utse* if she is older than the speaker. Both these words indicate respect, while *hirā'k* is not respectful, though sometimes used in calling the same relative. For the non-vocative *basō'k* or *baku'e* is used, the former, I believe, only if the person spoken of is younger than the speaker.

baku'pkā̀ta is a woman's term of address for a brother's wife. For the non-vocative she will use *basa'kā'ate* (see above), or, to prevent misunderstandings, *bacbī'ekarìcte*.

Comrades.

If two boys became very intimate with each other, continuing their friendly relations even after marriage, joining in war parties, and so forth, they were regarded as comrades (*ī'rapā̀ tuE*; singular: *ī'rapà tse*). Gray-bull had such a comrade and is called "father" by his friend's children, who give presents to his wife. Comrades exchange gifts in the manner customary among relatives, giving each other elk-tooth dresses and other articles of value.

The term *ī'rapàtse* is used, by a natural extension of this meaning, for any kind of friend, though most appropriately for the "partner" of Western slang.

Men who have married sisters are not considered as related in the strict sense of the term, but do call each other *mī'rapàtse* (first person possessive form of the terms used above). This, for example, is the way Gray-bull and Horn address each other.

With women this relationship does not seem to have been equally prominent, but there is a term for "female companion," *hī'raawè*, that is said to correspond to *mī'rapàtse*.

Psychic Intercourse.

For the rules, whether positive or negative, that regulate the social relations of relatives by blood or connections by marriage Sternberg has introduced the convenient phrase "psychic intercourse." [1]

Most important among the rules of avoidance among the Crow is the parent-in-law taboo.[2] A man must not speak to his wife's mother or father, and *vice versa*. Both the mother-in-law's and the father-in-law's fellow-clanswomen are included in the taboo, and the term *buce'* is applied in speaking of them (see p. 211). The father-in-law taboo was somewhat less strict and to-day, at all events, it seems that some fathers-in-law converse with their sons-in-law, while others do not, but the rule against speaking to one's mother-in-law is still rigorously observed. In 1907 I once wished to draw out my interpreter's mother-in-law with regard to the games played in her youth. My interpreter, instead of asking her directly, translated each query for his wife, who repeated it to her mother. The old woman replied to her daughter, who repeated the answer to her husband, and he finally translated it into English. There exists an additional rule against pronouncing any word that forms part of the mother-in-law's name. Thus, another of my interpreters never used the word *bā'waràtse*, "writing." The father-in-law's name may be pronounced, but it is not polite to do so in his presence.

It seems to be possible to remove the taboo by a substantial gift to the parents-in-law. Thus, Sharp-horn remarked that, if a man presented either parent-in-law with two or three horses, conversation was permitted thereafter. Another informant suggested that a gift of $100 might remove the ban; if I understood him correctly, a return gift was made.

When a man's wife has died, the deceased woman's mother may absolve both herself and her son-in-law from the customary taboo by addressing him as her son. Thereafter the relationship between them is like that of mother and son, and is not dissolved even if the man should re-marry.

There seem to be no corresponding parent-in-law taboos for a woman. Her husband's parents are addressed and treated by her as if they were her own and she assists her mother-in-law in the ordinary household duties, fetching water and preparing meals. According to one note, however, a

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[1] See Goldenweiser, pp. 249–251.

[2] Maximilian (II, 132), in discussing this taboo among the Mandan and Hidatsa, incidentally denies its existence among the Arikara and Crow. As the usage, however, seems very firmly rooted among the Crow, I am inclined to doubt the authenticity of his information even for his day, especially as he had no opportunity to make a thorough-going study of this tribe.

woman sometimes abstained from conversation with her father-in-law and would not pronounce his name.

A man never speaks to his wife's brother's wife, and *vice versa.* For instance, Crane-bear has, among other children, a daughter married to a man named Bird, and a son named Old-crane. In accordance with the rule, Old-crane's wife and Bird never hold conversation with each other.

Brothers-in-law are on terms of the very greatest friendship. They may jest with each other, one brother-in-law being permitted to say that the other has never been on a war party. But any personal references of an obscene character are strictly tabooed between them. Thus, I once pretended in jest to be Arm-round-the-neck's brother-in-law, but happened to mispronounce the appropriate term of address, so that my informant mistook it for a personal allusion to his privates. Playing his assumed part, he promptly dealt me a blow.

Even outsiders must not make such personal allusions in speaking to a man if his wife's brother or sister's husband is present, and must at once cut short any obscene remark to a man if the latter's brother-in-law should enter. If the speaker is not aware of the fact that the brother-in-law of the person he is jesting with is present, someone will inform him to that effect. If this is not done, the person about whom obscene remarks are made will himself inform the speaker, who immediately breaks off his remarks, feeling severely rebuked.

If a man wishes to make an obscene remark to another, he must not do so even if merely the latter's *clan* brother-in-law (for instance, a wife's clansman) is present. In this case, however, the "brother-in-law" may be requested to go away. Unless this is done, this "brother-in-law" will strike the jester for making the remark in his presence. Failing this, the man jested with will say to his "brother-in-law," "Strike him, or I will strike *you.*"

The respect thus shown to a brother-in-law is connected with the respect shown for each other by brother and sister. While brother and sister freely play with each other so long as they are children, their social relationship alters completely at the time of puberty. Henceforth, they are not indeed prohibited from holding conversation, but they are not supposed to be together alone. If a man comes to a tent and finds his sister there alone, he will go off immediately. This applies to both elder and younger sisters, and in fact to all who are addressed by these terms in Crow, with the exception of a brother's wife. In former times a sister was often able to dissuade a man from marrying a woman she disliked. Indeed, according to one informant, very few men would refuse to divorce a wife of whom their sisters strongly disapproved, and if a man would not accede to her wishes in such a case, a sister might disown her brother.

A man was on terms of the greatest familiarity with the wife of his own or his clan brother. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in the selection of a virtuous man for a certain office in the Sun Dance, those were explicitly disqualified who had taken liberties with their sisters-in-law.

NAMES.

A child might receive a name from its father, but it was more commonly named by some other person upon the father's invitation. This took place about four days after birth. If a child was sickly it would receive another name, and if that did not improve matters, then, according to In-the-mouth, another man was asked to name it.

Names are probably still most frequently conferred so as to describe some warlike deed of the namer's. In other instances they have been suggested to him in a dream or vision; thus Medicine-crow named one of Jim Carpenter's girls "Walks-with-her-dress" because in a vision he had seen a supernatural being so named. Girls were sometimes named by old women, but not by any means necessarily by members of their own sex. As a rule, the parents invited people of prominence to name their children.

Bull-chief was once requested by a girl's father to name her after the hardest fight he had ever been in. Before formally conferring the name, my informant made some incense of *isé* root, as the Crow had been instructed to do on such occasions in ancient times. Then he raised the infant aloft, this being a symbol of his wish that she might grow up, and finally called her "Takes-the-medicine-pipe" (ī'ptsewaxpenū'tsec). This was in commemoration of an encounter during which Bull-chief had rushed up towards the enemy and plucked away a medicine-pipe that was protruding from their fortifications. On another occasion the same informant was invited to name a boy, and this time he conferred a name suggested to him in a dream. Bull-chief also named his own grandson. He had once struck a coup under such dangerous circumstances that no other Crow had struck after him, and accordingly he called his grandchild, "His-coups-are-dangerous" (istā'kce rɛtsirā'tc).

The method described by Bull-chief seems to have been the customary one, but he fails to mention that the godfather raises the child four times, lifting it a little higher each time. Another informant says that the baby's face is painted red and that the incense is held towards its face.

The godfather is either compensated on the spot, or the parents may defer payment, saying, "If this boy shall ever walk, he will give you a horse."

Women rarely changed their names, except when a namesake had died. Thus Cuts-the-picketed-mule formerly bore the same name as Medicine-crow's mother. When the latter died, Medicine-crow gave her her present name. He had once cut two picketed mules, and being a joking-relative of the woman he named her accordingly. Gray-bull added, however, that his being a joking-relative was immaterial. This informant does not know of any *man* changing his name on account of a namesake's death.

According to Muskrat, a woman who had thrown away her husband (possibly the one mentioned by another informant, see p. 224) bought a new name in commemoration of her act. The name she obtained had originally been that of a great man, *araxī'nëtc*, "No-lavender (?)". Later, Muskrat bought this name for a horse.

A girl or woman might receive a nickname based on some ridiculous act performed, either by herself, or by one of her father's fellow-clanswomen. For example, Bull-chief mentioned a woman named "Lying-with-a-dry-hide." One of the women in her father's clan had pretended to be lying with a man, while in reality she had merely laid beside her an unfolded parfleche, which she addressed in whispered words. The inmates of the lodge discovered her deceit, and accordingly bestowed, not on her, but upon her clan-daughter the name *batâtsaxpaxpi̇̂c*, the translation of which has been given above. Another woman once got angry and hit herself over the head with a stone club. Accordingly, Hits-herself-over-the-head (i'tsicē're dítsic) is a name handed down to one of her brother's children.

Men frequently assumed new names after the performance of some creditable deed. Thus Gray-bull's birth-name was Last-bull. When, however, he had struck his first coup, his fellow-clansmen gave him the name of a famous warrior in his father's clan, who received a horse as payment. A similar instance is given by Bull-chief. A man who wore a long queue in the back resembling that of a Chinaman had a father's fellow-clansman who was short and fat so that people poked fun at him, saying that he had a big shade. When the clan-son became a great warrior, he himself acquired the name Big-shade, and his father bade him pay a horse to the fat man, because the name had been derived from him. On one occasion a Crow riding a pinto horse ran in a conspicuous manner in among a band of retreating Sioux. The other Crow Indians took him in their midst, and one old man called him Owner-of-a-pinto-horse, by which name he was known thereafter. At birth Bull-chief was named "Bull-weasel" by a father's fellow-clansman, because the latter had received a vision from a weasel. However, when he had grown up he did not enjoy a good reputation because he had returned from a war expedition empty-handed. One day his own father had a vision of a buffalo, called in my informant, made incense, and

said to him, "I will make a man of you." He bade his son take a bath and smoke himself with the incense on coming in again. Then he painted his son all yellow, put a red eagle feather on his head, and drew two slanting lines across the arms, one line to bring luck in striking coups, the other for similar luck in taking away the enemies' guns. "These two things," said Bull-chief's father, "are what we like among our people. If you perform these deeds I will re-name you. The first time you strike a coup that is not disputed (see p. 238) and also get a gun, either at the same time or later, I will give you a new name. 'Bull-weasel' is not a good name for you, so you had better have it changed." My informant went out with the first war party and actually took an enemy's gun and counted coup on him. When he got back his father called him "Bull-chief," and my informant became a war-captain and was esteemed a very brave man.

Bear-gets-up's first name was Many-foxes. After he had married his first wife he performed some creditable deed and was named after one of his father's brothers, who had been killed. Thereafter he never used his first name, though he might do so if he chose.

Nicknames given to men were frequently of an obscene character.

One young man whom I met in the Reno District in 1907 was called "In-the-corner-of-his-testicles." In-the-mouth recounted various instances of such nicknames. One man was called "Potato-mentulae-caput"; viris et mulieribus "hand-game" ludentibus penem eximium magnitudine Scolds-the-bear (obj.) monstravit. Qui magnitudine quid esset nescit, tunc demum, "illius mentulae caput 'potato' aequat," exclamavit. Another man went to a wolf den in search of wolves. Quo loco inire voluit sodales cacaverat ita ut excrementa vultum inquinarent. Quare filius viri eiusdem gentis (*clan*) "Faeces-in-vultu" appelatus est. Another man was called "Cunnum ut fumet orat" because he had once pointed his pipe towards a woman's vagina while smoking.

Other nicknames are of a different type. Old-dog received his present name from leading an old dog on the warpath to carry his moccasins. For a corresponding reason, another man was called Tough-necked-dog. A third warrior wore a small whetting-stone round his neck, and was named Small-whetting-stone.

Some nicknames are obviously adopted by the people in general and supersede the individual's former names.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

When a woman is in labor, two sticks are stuck into the earth at the head of her pillow, and soft comforters are piled up beneath. The woman seizes the two sticks with her hands, her elbows resting on the pillow, and kneels with her legs spread wide apart. The attendants give her some weed juice to drink in order to hasten the delivery, and hold her tight above the abdominal region. When the child has been delivered, they cut off all but three fingers' breadth of the navel cord.

Both men and women may act as obstetricians; some men are among the most skilful practitioners. The obstetrician is liberally feed. Thus, Gray-bull's wife successfully treated a woman who had previously obtained no relief from two other doctors and received from the patient's relatives one horse, a blanket, four comforters, some new calico, and some money. When she herself was in confinement, her husband paid the doctor three horses. During my visit the Gray-bull couple had the offer of a cow if they should come to treat a woman who was in childbed.

According to In-the-mouth and others, the part of a girl's navel cord that drops off is rolled up in a piece of cloth and put into a beaded sack. When the child is old enough to wear an elk-tooth dress, this sack is tied to its back. Before that age, it is attached to the cradleboard.

About two days after a child's birth, its mother pierced its ears with a heated awl and then stuck a greased stick through the perforations. When the sores were cured, earrings were put in. The ceremonial piercing of ears was not a Crow custom.

The naming ceremony, which took place about four days after birth, is described in a separate section.

Crow women while rocking their babies to sleep, often sing lullabies that are supposed to have been originally heard in dreams or obtained by an ancestor who overheard the song of some female animal lulling her offspring. Of the songs noted, one is that of a wolf, another is believed to have been obtained from a bear, and a third from a dog. The following wolf lullaby is very popular and known to all the Crow.

awē'raxkè ta bāwasā'Ecī wa,
On the hillside I was running,

bacū'ca daxē'tsixē re, daxē'tsixē re.
my knee I skinned, I skinned.

tsēt ā'cu-hi'cik·ā ta, ā'cu-hi'cik·ā ta.[1]
The wolf red-headed, the red-headed one.

[1] This line is also given in another form, so as to mean "wearing the wolf mask."

awaku′saat ē′rusā [a]k
Farther off cannot ease himself.

ī′sa ara′papē i; awakō′wate barapē′ik·ā ta,
His face itches, in all seasons he kills,

ciwicī′kik·atā wae
gets yellow with fat.

mi′cg·ex basū′rake, ō pī′rake. ha′ha, hu′hu! ha′ha, hu′hu!
The dog gets full, he smokes. Ha′ha, hu′hu! Ha′ha, hu′hu!

The Crow are not in the habit of punishing children by beating them. When a child is crying for a long time, the parents put it on its back and pour water down its nose. If at some later time the child begins to cry, the parents merely say, "Bring the water!" Then the child generally stops.

Children were sometimes adopted by their grandparents. Brothers and sisters might adopt one another's children, and more particularly a sister would often adopt a brother's child. People might also adopt a fellow-clansman's child; in such a case they expected presents from the parents in return for the trouble of bringing up the child. If the adoptive parent was not of the child's clan, the latter seems to have been reckoned as in some way belonging to both clans, and it was best for such a person not to marry into either of the clans. The adoptive parents took good care of the children and treated them like their own, presenting boys with horses and girls with elk-tooth dresses.

Gray-bull himself raised a boy because he looked exactly like one of his own sons, who had died. He brought the boy up until he got married, when he returned to his own father. This boy's father was a member of the Not-Mixed clan, while his mother was an *acī′oce*. The boy always belonged to the *acī′oce* clan, regardless of Gray-bull's affiliations. Gray-bull's own son, Grasshopper, was adopted by a *birik·ō′oce* woman and counted as a member of her clan, until he was grown-up, when he returned to his own parents and was reckoned a member of his mother's clan with the privilege of marrying a *birik·ō′oce* girl.

Walking-bird was adopted by Gray-bull's mother-in-law, which made him an adoptive brother of Gray-bull's wife, and accordingly Gray-bull's brother-in-law. They call each other by this term of relationship (macī′), and exchange presents.

MENSTRUATION (ī'maxùE).

One old woman, whose statement is confirmed by Bull-chief, said that girls were generally married before puberty, and that accordingly the Crow had no menstrual lodges. While the fact of early marriages seems well established, the former existence of menstrual lodges is affirmed by Child-in-his-mouth and his wife. They say that long ago menstruating women stayed in a special tipi, eating wild roots and abstaining from meat for four days. Then they bathed, got new clothes, smoked them over a fire of evergreen leaves, put them on, and returned to their homes. The majority of my informants, however, deny the existence of menstrual huts. No feast was given in honor of a girl who menstruated for the first time; if she was unmarried, other girls poked fun at her.

The only regulation that seems to persist is that menstruating women must not come near medicine bundles. These must be removed from the lodge until she recovers. In former times the women were obliged to ride inferior horses when in this condition and were not permitted to approach a wounded man or warriors setting out on a war party.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

On various occasions young men paid attentions to the young women admired by them.

In the fall, when the leaves were turning yellow, young men would pick out young women partners to join them in getting lodge poles from the mountains. The girls would cut the trees, and their escorts dragged them and trimmed them for their partners. Finally, all rode home, partners mounting each other's horses.

After coming back from a war party, young men would dress up, mount their best horses, and invite young women to ride behind them. Together they would go to some lodge and sing in front of it. This was called "singing before a tipi."

Young women would accompany young men in going for prime buffalo hides. Each man had two horses, one on which to ride towards the herd, the other for chasing the buffalo when these were sighted. The latter horse was led by his partner until he was ready to mount, when she took care of the horse he had ridden up to this point. A man would ask his

lady what sort of a hide she wished, and she replied that she wanted that of a bull calf, or whatever it might be. After killing three or four buffalo apiece, the hunters tipped them over for skinning, returned to their mistresses, and brought these to the site of the dead animals. The skins were then cut for backrest covers and what not, everything was packed on horses, and all went homeward, a woman generally riding her escort's hunting-horse. When a couple arrived near the young woman's home, she would throw down the hides, and then return the horse to her escort.

At the time when the berries were ripening a herald urged the young unmarried people to have a scramble for berries. Then the young men and women set out in their best clothes, the latter taking their berry-bags. The young men went up to the young women they desired to have for partners and asked them for permission to take their bags; if snubbed, they felt ashamed. The young women then faced towards the berry patch, a general order was given to advance in that direction, and then all dashed at full speed towards the patch in order to get to the best spot first. The limbs of the shrubs were broken off and taken some distance, then partners joined in picking off the berries. There was a parade back to camp. Partners exchanged horses with each other, each woman riding behind her escort and singing with him. The paraders circled round the camp, and the men took the women back to their homes.

When the wild rhubarb was ripe, men and women joined to gather it in similar fashion. They also came back singing, some of the men returning as if from a war party. Before getting home, they had a feast.

Sometimes, in crossing streams like the Bighorn, the Crow constructed rafts of lodge poles. Ropes were attached to the rafts, on which women and children lay down flat, while the men took the end of the rope in their mouths and swam across the river. On such occasions, the young men would pull their mistresses' rafts.

Corresponding usages to those described in some of the foregoing paragraphs were in vogue during the preparatory stages of the Sun dance ceremony, when young men and women set out to bring in the poles and other things necessary for the proper construction of the lodge.

A custom frequently referred to is best described in this connection. Some unmarried men were wont to pry about the lodges at night. If they got to a tent in which there was sleeping a girl they coveted, they would pull up the pegs outside *ut genitalia manibus tangere possent.* A certain office in the Sun dance ceremonies had to be filled by a "virtuous" young man. In defining his qualifications, several informants specified that he must be one who had never teased his sisters-in-law (see p. 215) and had never indulged in the practice just described, which is called *bîerùsace.*

If a man guilty of *bïerùsace* was caught by the inmates of the lodge, they made him stretch out his arms, threw a blanket over them, tied each hand to one of the ends of a long stick, and then let him go. In this condition the offender was likely to scare horses. In one instance a young man punished in the manner described lay down to sleep with tied hands and rested until the next morning. He had difficulty in catching up with the camp, which was moving. When the people saw him at a distance, they thought it was some special signal to them and ran up. The horses shied. At last the culprit was released by his brother.

Lovers were wont to go round the camp after night fall, blowing flutes (ī'k·oce waráxuE) for their mistresses' amusement. An especially long flute that was said to produce the sound of an elk call was used for charming women.

If a man who had asked a woman to become his mistress was rebuffed with some such remark as "*dī isā'kce xawī'k·*" ("You are a bad young man") or "*dī watscëk·ā't*" ("You are a little man," i. e., presumably a nobody), he would grieve and sometimes mourned for several days. In a vision he sometimes saw a man dressed in a certain fashion, blowing a flute and causing all female animals to come running toward him. When the visionary returned to camp he would make for himself a flute of exactly the same shape and painted in exactly the same way as that revealed to him and would then use it to charm the young woman coveted just as his visitant had charmed the animals. She came to him immediately, and they would spend the night together, but the next morning he had his revenge and publicly cast her out of the lodge. She would attempt to return, but the spurned lover persisted in ejecting her in sight of all the people. Sometimes such a woman would then try to get a vision and might see a man attracted say by some form of incense. She would then prepare the charm indicated in her supernatural communication, and it produced the desired effect. Sometimes the affair ended in marriage. Visionaries of this sort were consulted by women who had had troubles with their husbands and wished to secure some medicine that should adjust matters. Gray-bull says that some women obtained medicines from the Assiniboine, but these worked harm; when put into a man's food they caused him to bleed from the nose and ultimately to die.

Some say that formerly a man did not marry until he had struck a coup; it must of course be remembered that the customs described above gave considerable opportunity for philandering.

The approved way of marrying was for the lover to present horses to the young woman's brother. If wedded on the basis of such a purchase, a couple were more likely to stay together for a long time. If a man had

bought the oldest of a number of sisters in this way, he had the right of marrying the younger girls without making an additional payment. Sometimes a wife and husband would part on account of some disagreement, and in such a case a man generally married the next oldest sister. If the difficulty was smoothed over, both women remained as his wives. If a man did not like his wife, he might buy additional wives.

The less regular way of proposing was for a lover to approach the young woman directly, give her some fine present such as a horse, and induce her to elope with him at a specified time.

According to Lone-tree, young married couples generally went to live with the husband's parents for a while. These were in the habit of giving fine presents to their daughter-in-law, who in turn would help her husband's mother in cooking and fetching water (see p. 211).

If a woman committed adultery, her husband might beat her severely, or even gash her face and head with a knife, but it was not customary to cut off part of her nose in the Blackfoot fashion. An adulteress would often be sent away. Her husband might select some of his older fellow-clansmen, or all the clan members, to punish her by exercising marital rights. The male offender's lodge might be cut down, his lodge poles broken, everything worth having within the lodge appropriated, and the rest destroyed. In addition, several of his horses were sometimes killed.

Sometimes a woman was divorced by her husband for being "cranky." Young children went with the mother; when somewhat older, the boys were taken back by the father, while the girls usually remained with the mother.

It happened occasionally that a young woman deserted an older husband, — a procedure called *batsẽ̀kurupĩ̀u*. According to Gray-bull, it was not necessary for the relatives of a woman who ran away from her husband to restore the original purchase price paid for her.

The custom of publicly "throwing away" wives together with good horses is said by Bear-gets-up and Gray-bull to have been introduced by the Hidatsa in connection with the Hot dance.[1] In thus abandoning a wife a man regards her as so much rubbish cleaned out of a house. The act is generally due to a quarrel with the wife or her parents, who may in an indirect way have given offense to their son-in-law. If a wife has been guilty of adultery, that is a reason for throwing her away. A special song is sung during the Hot dance, and anyone desirous of abandoning his wife may then declare his intention. Recently a man threw away three women, all of whom had borne children. Plenty-hawk threw away a wife who had had two children. When the children are young, they naturally

[1] This is the performance known among other Plains tribes as the Grass or Omaha dance.

go with their mother in such cases. When one of the two children was old enough to be married, Plenty-hawk sent her a good horse, and since then father and daughter have met freely. Plenty-hawk has presented his son-in-law with five horses. The fellow-clansmen of a woman abandoned in the way described disapprove of her being discarded, but do not take any action, and apparently there is no redress.

In one instance a woman publicly threw away her husband, who had abandoned a Cheyenne woman for her sake, but continued relations with his former spouse. The Crow woman had a herald announce during a Hot dance that she was throwing away a horse and her husband.

A legitimate form of "mutual wife-stealing" (batsúɛrā̀+u) was practised by two rival societies, the Foxes and the Lumpwoods. It was restricted to these organizations, and even for them only to a very brief period in the beginning of spring. A Fox who had formerly been on terms of intimacy with some Lumpwood's wife might then enter her lodge and abduct her, and *vice versa*. A full description of the usages connected with this practice will be given in a paper devoted to the military organizations.

In conclusion, it is perhaps worth noting that in spite of the frequently mentioned looseness of marital relations, chastity was highly esteemed by the Crow, as is shown by the qualifications for certain offices in the Sun dance, two of which could be filled only by virtuous women and the third by a virtuous man (see p. 215).

CALLING OFF MISTRESSES' NAMES.

There were at least two forms of this usage. When the Crow were on the warpath and had reached the enemy's territory, they might stop, and each man would take out some trinket presented to him by his mistress and call out her name. The more common method, described by several informants, was the following. When on the warpath, a party of Crow would kill a buffalo, cook its guts, and pass them about from one man to another. Each broke off a piece, saying, "I shall bring a horse for So-and-so," mentioning the name of some girl or woman whom he had lain with. Indeed, a warrior might openly announce the fact. After the declaration a man ate the piece of sausage. Sometimes four bark shelters were erected by the warriors, and then the inmates of one tent might bring a pipe to those of another and challenge them to proclaim who their mistresses were. This would oblige them to comply with the request. Once the challengers were surprised to have the other party call off the names of the challengers'

wives, and tried to put an end to the announcements. Ralph Saco states that this custom of breaking off pieces of sausage and calling off mistresses' names was practised the night before sighting an enemy's camp and that only names of married women were mentioned on that occasion. However, he refers to another mode of calling off, when either single or married women might be named.

A young woman explained that the calling off rested on the principle that inasmuch as the warriors were liable to get killed they might as well divulge their secrets.

Bear-gets-up says the form employed in calling off was first to mention the woman's and her husband's name, and then to add, "I slept with her." It was believed that if all the members of a war party spoke the truth they would have good luck. According to one statement, a man naming his mistress said in substance, "I wish to perform such and such a deed as truly as this story I tell is true." Sometimes the woman thus charged with adultery denied her guilt. At times the husbands happened to be of the party and were present at the calling off of their wives' names; some did not seem to care and caused no trouble on their return, while others might leave their faithless spouses.

The custom was called *bi'ɛ arâ'sasûɛ*, "women's calling off," or, *bi'ɛ tsi'mecdā'sasùe*, "married women's calling off." It is mentioned by Curtis[1] and is quite clearly referred to by Beckwourth in the following passage.

"We all assembled together and marched on. In the forenoon we killed a fine fat buffalo, and rested to take breakfast. The intestines were taken out, and a portion of them cleansed and roasted. A long one was then brought into our mess, which numbered ten warriors, who formed a circle, every man taking hold of the intestine with his thumb and finger. In this position, very solemnly regarded by all in the circle, certain questions were propounded to each in relation to certain conduct in the village, which is of a nature unfit to be entered into here. They are religiously committed to a full and categorical answer to each inquiry, no matter whom their confession may implicate. Every illicit action they have committed since they last went to war is here exposed, together with the name of the faithless accomplice, even to the very date of the occurrence. All this is divulged to the *medicine men* on the return of the party, and it is by them noted down in a manner that it is never erased while the guilty confessor lives. Every new warrior, at his initiation is conjured by the most sacred oaths never to divulge the war-path secret to any woman, on pain of instant death. He swears by his gun, his pipe, knife, earth, and sun, which are the most sacred oaths to the Indian, and are ever strictly observed."[2]

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[1] L. c., vol. 4, p. 35.

[2] Bonner, l. c., p. 157 f. The Blackfoot had essentially the same custom as that described above. See Wissler, (b), p. 267.

BERDACHES (baté).

Maximilian writes of the Crow: "Sie haben viele Bardaches oder Mannweiber unter sich, und sind vor den übrigen Nationen Meister in unnatürlichen Gebräuchen."[1]

At present there is but one surviving berdache, who lives in the Bighorn District. I saw him once at Lodge Grass. He is probably over fifty years of age, stands about 5 ft. 7 inches, and is of large build. According to several informants, former agents have repeatedly tried to make him don male clothes, but the other Indians themselves protested against this, saying that it was against his nature. Henry Russell told me that this berdache once fought valiantly in an encounter with the Sioux. He has the reputation of being very accomplished in feminine crafts.

It is impossible to detect a berdache at birth, but as he grows up his weak voice distinguishes him from other boys. Berdaches naturally associate with girls and pretend to have sweethearts among the men.

DEATH.

When a person died, the corpse was wrapped up in the yellow part of the tipi cover called *acdē'cire*, which was tied together with buffalo hide sinew. The corpse was never taken out of the regular entrance, but from the side wherever the deceased happened to have breathed his last.[2] If the body were taken out by the door, some other person in the same lodge would die soon after. The dead person was arrayed in his best clothes and painted. The people who wrapped up the body thus addressed the deceased: —

"kandarī'k·, kandī'patsEsa, kar' i'tse ā'waxkuwi'awōk."
"You are gone, turn not back, well we wish to fare."

Then the body was placed on a burial scaffold of four forked poles, or in the fork of a tree. Such scaffolds can still be seen on the Crow reservation. In the Bighorn District I also saw the remains of a tree burial. The feet are said to have been placed towards the east, the head was placed towards the west. When the body had decomposed, the bones were sometimes taken down and deposited in rocks. According to Beckwourth, this

[1] Op. cit., I, p. 401.
[2] Cf. the Ojibway custom recorded by Kohl, p. 149.

double burial was the common method: "The Crows fasten the remains of their dead in trees until their flesh is decayed; their skeletons are then taken down and inhumed in caves. Sometimes, but not frequently, they kill the favorite horse of the deceased, and bury him at the foot of the tree; but that custom is not followed so strictly with them as with most other tribes."[1] Bear-gets-up also says that, if the scaffold fell down, the body might be buried near by.

When a great chief had died, his lodge was decorated with horizontal red stripes, and the corpse was placed on a four-pole platform inside. Thus it was abandoned to destruction from natural causes.

A person killed by the enemy was not taken indoors, but was laid and painted outside, with exposed bust, and was made to hold a feather fan in his hand. All the camp mourned in such a case. When a person had died a natural death, only the mourning relatives cut their hair, chopped off a finger-joint, and gashed their legs, arms, foreheads or heads so as to be covered with blood. Many old and middle-aged Crow now living lack several finger-joints. The relatives absented themselves from the camp for two months, and remained in mourning for an entire season. Leonard extends this period to last twelve or thirteen months. After their return from the hills, but while still in mourning, the women set up a new lodge and performed the necessary work on hides, etc. If the dead person had been slain by the enemy the relatives might also return to camp after two months, but if no enemy had been killed they continued to act as mourners, living in a miserable hut and never indulging in laughter. The retaliatory killing of any member of the tribe at whose hands the mourned-for person had met death put an immediate stop to outward manifestations of grief, "though the relatives' hearts might still be bad."[2]

Mourners distributed all their property among the people, keeping nothing but their medicines and a little clothing.

Leonard, whose account indicates an actual burial in the ground, says that when a chief had died his horse's tail and mane were docked and buried with him, the assumption being that each hair would turn into a fine horse in the land of spirits. According to the same eye-witness, the burial was followed by a procession through the camp, the musicians drumming in front, while the mourners came behind. The paraders went to the top of an eminence, where men and women separated. The women took an arrow point mounted on a stick and "commenced pricking their heads, beginning at one ear and continuing round the forehead to the other, making incisions

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[1] Bonner, l. c., p. 163.

[2] This statement is also made in Leonard's *Narrative*, p. 272.

half an inch apart all round; and the men went through a similar course on their legs, arms, etc., until the blood oozed out in streams. All this performance was done without creating the least appearance of pain." Then all the women who had lost some near relative or particular friend collected along a log and deliberately cut off a finger at the first joint. The men did the same except that they were careful to spare the two first fingers on the right hand, which were used in bending the bow. Leonard noted many old women who had lost the tip of each finger, while some had even cut off farther. During this performance the other Indians sang, danced, and yelled. Finally the procession returned to the village, the faces of the mourning women daubed with their own blood, which was not removed until it wore off. Leonard states that shaving the hair was an alternative to the more general sacrifice of a finger joint, but according to my information the cutting of the hair was also a general usage.[1]

Catlin tells us that the men cut only a number of locks in token of mourning, while women mourning the loss of a husband or child were obliged to crop their hair short to the head and gradually ceased to mourn as their hair approached to its former length.[2]

GOVERNMENT.

It is extremely difficult to get a clear notion of the former tribal government of the Crow. As far as I am able to see, there was no strong central power except at the time of a buffalo hunt or of some similar occasion calling for concerted effort. Those who had distinguished themselves in war by performing the four recognized deeds of valor (see p. 230) formed an aristocracy of "chiefs" (batsē'tse) and were highly esteemed. One of these acted as camp-chief, that is, he decided when and where the people were to camp. The feeling of ambition and rivalry connected with this martial aristocracy is well described in Leonard's *Narrative*,[3] though I have found little to support his statement that there were two definitely distinguished grades of Small and Great Braves below those of Little and Great Chiefs. Leonard's definition of the two kinds of chiefs also appears to be not quite accurate, for according to my data a camp (Great) chief was elected, and the attainment to a (Little) chief's station depended primarily not on the mere number of recognized deeds of bravery performed, but on their includ-

[1] Leonard, l. c., pp. 271–272.
[2] Catlin, I, p. 50.
[3] P. 258 f. Leonard met the Crow in 1833 and 1834.

ing at least one of each type. However, Blue-bead spoke of chiefs of several degrees, those who had carried the pipe ranking those with two or three coups to their credit, who in turn took precedence of those who had captured two or three guns. On the other hand, Leonard is probably right in saying that only chiefs were entitled to debate matters of tribal interest, for though it is not certain how the camp-chief was chosen, and for how long a time, one informant states that the election was by a council of prominent men — presumably, the chiefs as defined above. The same authority says that a camp-chief continued to act until he voluntarily resigned his office. Lone-tree states that under some camp-chiefs a tribe had good luck and then they would remain in office for a long time; but if the Crow had bad luck, they changed chiefs. Everything seems to point to the fact that the camp-chief had ordinarily strictly limited powers and was simply the foremost among the chiefs.

Every spring the camp-chief appointed *one* of the military societies to serve as a police force; or the members might volunteer to do police duty. The Foxes, Lumpwoods, Crazy Dogs, Big Dogs, Muddy Hands, and Muddy Mouths are all said to have acted at one time or another in this capacity. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the taking of turns, and the weight of evidence is in favor of the view that one society might be appointed several times in succession.[1] The policemen were known as *aki's' at' è* (compare Sioux *aki't cita*), and their function *aki's'at'ùe*.

The principal duty of the police was to prevent the premature startling of a herd in a buffalo hunt. Offenders were severely whipped, their weapons might be broken, and what meat they had taken on their illegal hunting expeditions was liable to confiscation. It was also customary for the police to restrain war parties from setting out at an inopportune moment. Leonard's account of the police is substantially in agreement with the data supplied by my informants; his statement that the principal chief had the power of vetoing every act of the constabulary is worth noting.[2] Hostilities within the camp were prevented by the use of pipes, as noted by Beckwourth. "We drew out battle-axes at the same instant and rushed at each other, but before either had an opportunity to strike, the pipe was thrust between us, compelling us to desist, to disobey which is instant death."[3] On another occasion the same writer mentions similar interference by the police to prevent hostilities between two rival societies.[4]

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[1] Bear-gets-up said that even within the same season different societies might assume police functions.

[2] Leonard, p. 257f.

[3] Bonner, l. c., p. 175.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Announcements of tribal interest were made by a herald (àcipërerā′+u) riding through the camp. Usually a man of distinction, more particularly the leader of a successful war party, was selected for this office. During the July celebration at Lodge Grass in 1911 White-man-runs-him acted as herald.

The punishment of offences against tribal custom, so far as they relate to matrimonial and clan affairs, have already been dealt with in other sections. The informal punitive function of public derision, as illustrated by the liberties of the joking-relatives (p. 204) and the derisive songs composed on certain occasions (p. 245), must not be underrated in this connection, for to be made the laughing-stock of his people is a real and severe punishment for a Crow. In case of murder, as already shown, the punishment of the murderer (àkbiritsirupé) was a clan affair, but an indemnity seems to have been usually offered to the avengers and accepted by them. Thus, during the celebration of a victory a man once killed a boy for running into his shield. The people were going to kill him, but he himself immediately chopped off all his fingers, gashed his legs, and cut his hair. He ran into the tent where his wife and children were staying, and his wife's relations offered property to the would-be avengers, who spared the criminal's life, merely killing all his horses.

WAR CUSTOMS.

There are four types of deeds that were generally recognized as meritorious and counted for the title of a "chief": "the carrying of the pipe," that is, the leadership of a successful war party; the striking of a coup; the taking of an enemy's gun or bow; and the cutting of a horse picketed in the enemy's camp (bā′pack·ū̀o). A "chief" was a man who had at least one deed of each type to his credit. In Lodge Grass there are said to be but two men living whose record entitles them to be regarded as chiefs in the old Crow sense, viz. Medicine-crow and Gray-bull. In Pryor the chiefs are Plenty-coups, Bell-rock, Sits-in-the-middle-of-the-ground, and Has-no-ground. Medicine-crow regarded himself and Plenty-coups as the only real chiefs of the entire tribe.

Three native terms are translated "coup." Of these, *dā′ᵃkce* designates what might be called the "coup proper," that is, the actual striking of an enemy, though Gray-bull makes it include in addition the taking of a gun at the same time. The other two, *ack·ápe* and *araxtsi′e*, seem to refer to any of the martial deeds recognized as meritorious.

Scalping, though said to have been extensively practised by the Sioux, is not regarded as a specially creditable deed by the Crow, and did not count for the chieftaincy. An informant said to me, "You will never hear a Crow boast of his scalps when he recites his deeds"; and this statement is confirmed by my experience.

An exploit that is said to have taken precedence over all others in the estimation of the tribe but was probably of too rare occurrence to be enumerated among the exploits leading to the title of chief was that of turning back one's horse to rescue a disabled fellow-tribesman in the face of the pursuing enemy. Only men who had performed this deed were privileged to ride with the women captured by the Foxes or Lumpwoods during the period of licensed wife-kidnapping (see p. 224). Other warriors of distinction enjoyed similar social prerogatives, especially in some of the important ceremonies. Thus, in the Tobacco dance adoption, a short time after the entrance into the adoption lodge, some noted brave recites the story of one of his deeds. In the Sun dance performance considerable time was consumed by war captains entering with their parties and telling about their doings. A man famous for his war record is still likely to be invited to name a child (see p. 215).

Pictorial representations of deeds in realistic style were made upon men's robes and on the windbreaks (bitā'rECIÈ) inside the lodge, but less frequently, if at all, on the tipi cover itself, though Shows-a-fish states that some men painted the outside of their lodges in that way. Nowadays some men, including Shows-a-fish, have corresponding decoration on the canvas lining of the inner walls of their log cabins.

According to Yellow-brow, the taking of guns from the enemy was symbolized by wearing a shirt decorated with ermine skins; leggings fringed with such skins or with scalps denoted that the wearer had led an expedition that returned with booty; the striking of coups was indicated by wolf tails at the heels of moccasins; while the cutting of picketed horses was not represented by any special device. Gray-bull says that captains used only a few real scalps for a fringe, substituting horsehair in the rest of the available space. Blue-bead stated that a warrior who struck coups and took horses would wear a scalp or ermine shirt; a captain trimmed the fringe of his leggings and the soles (heels?) of his moccasins and tied a scalp to his horse's chin on festive occasions.

On being requested to recount his deeds, Itsū'ptete recited the following, drawing a line on the ground for each item: —

1. I took an iron gun.
2. I took a bow.
3. I led a war party that killed an enemy.

4. I was shot.
5. I killed a horse.
6. I shot a man.
7. I brought home ten horses.
8. I went to war about fifty times.
9. The Sioux badgered me, I shot one of them.

War parties started as the result of some dream or vision, either by the captain himself or by some medicineman advising him. The visionary would prophesy the exact circumstances under which his *protégé* would kill an enemy, capture horses, and the like. Thus, a medicineman named Sore-tail repeatedly bade Cuts-the-picketed-mule's father set out on expeditions. Once he predicted that the party would come back on the seventh day after killing three enemies, the last one lacking one hand; and the party really killed three Sioux scouts the last of whom had no thumb on his right hand. Again, he sent out the informant's father, telling him to bring two Sioux heads, and this prophecy likewise came true. On a third occasion, Sore-tail bade the same man go, predicting that he would be away for thirteen days and capture but a single scalp, and this also was verified by the result. A fourth time he sent the warrior off to bring back three enemies, and again things happened as he had foretold.

An account by Gray-bull indicates that a man known for his war medicine would be approached by a young man desirous of obtaining a reputation for martial deeds and asked to part with his medicines. If the owner consented and thereafter had a dream relating to some war exploit, he would notify the buyer to that effect, bidding him organize a party. However, the original owner at first sold merely the material part of the medicine, reserving for himself the power of dreaming an expedition, and after the return of each party he was entitled to receive horses from the buyer. Only for (or after?) the fourth time a war medicine buyer acquired the full possession of his charm with the power of independently setting out as leader of a company of warriors.

Hillside, Flathead-woman, and Gray-bull were all fitted out by the same medicineman. The first two received arrows, while Gray-bull received a tooth, but the accessories were alike in each case. Gray-bull's tooth had been extracted from the corpse of White-cub, a famous Crow chief who had been slain by the enemy together with all his war party, by White-cub's brother. The man who first bought the relic was very successful, accordingly Gray-bull bought the tooth for ten horses. He also enjoyed good luck thereafter, so that he got together a herd of from 70 to 90 horses. The tooth had an appendage composed of a magpie tail, an eagle tail, and a red feather. All war captains had a magpie tail, "probably because they considered the magpie most sacred."

Two kinds of officers were distinguished on a war party,— the captain, *ĭ'ptse-akè* (literally, pipe-owner), and the scout, *aktsĭ'te*.[1]

Since the captain was either himself the person who had received the revelation on the strength of which the expedition was undertaken or at least represented the real visionary, he was entirely free from all the menial labors incident to the trip, and was theoretically entitled to all the spoils. In practice, he hardly ever appropriated all the property; a captain who attempted to do so was criticised for his lack of liberality. The pipe carried by the captain was an ordinary pipe; it was lighted by one of his followers. The captain's medicine was carried by the warrior who walked in front of the rest, and usually no one was permitted to go on the right of this leader, though for some medicines the rule was that no one should pass to the left of the medicine carrier. If one of these regulations was broken, it was believed that some mishap would befall the party. When the party reached the locality specified in the dream or vision from which the expedition originated, the captain took out his medicine from its wrappings, smoked it with incense, and held it towards the enemy, at the same time singing a song against them.

The scout carried, as his badge of office, a wolf or coyote skin and is indicated accordingly in pictorial representations of war exploits. From some of Gray-bull's statements it would appear that the wolf skin was really part of the *captain's* medicine and was merely carried by the scouts, but the same authority also said that some scouts who had seen a wolf in their visions would prepare wolf skins for their associates, sometimes painting the breast yellow, presumably to conform to their revelation.

Gray-bull narrates the following personal war tale, which terminates in a generalized account of the proceedings after a war party's return. "A woman had had her son killed by the enemy. She came where I was seated with my medicine-father,[2] holding a pipe in her hands, which she placed in front of me. My medicine-father bade me pick it up, light, and smoke it. I obeyed, and then handed the pipe to him. There was a crowd of people in the lodge and the pipe was passed round the circle. I did not yet know that the woman had a horse loaded with gifts outside. She unloaded the presents, and my 'father' gave me one striped blanket and had his wife distribute the remainder of the property. She gave the reins of the horse to me. My 'father' thus addressed her: 'Well, you have given my son the pipe, my heart is bad' (that is, I am angry at the enemy). He then spoke to me for a while, whereupon I called out to her word for word what

[1] According to my most recent information there were some additional officers.

[2] That is, the former owner of his war medicine (see p. 232).

he had told me: 'Grandmother, to-morrow I shall make a sweat lodge, the next night I shall start.' On the following day I made a sweat lodge. Before starting I called on the old lady and again told her that on the next morning I should be on my journey and that eight days hence she should pulverize charcoal and fat and look out for me.

"Six days later we were sighted by a body of Piegan, who stole the horses we had not picketed. We followed in pursuit, found four Piegan, killed them, and recovered all but two horses. We then turned homeward. Starting out we had traveled very slowly, but coming home we proceeded with the utmost dispatch. The eighth night was drawing near. I left my party to be home in time and found the old woman waiting for me at the outskirts of the camp. She began to cry, and asked me whether I was coming back with spoils. I told her I had killed four of the enemy and bade her cease crying and prepare charcoal since the rest of the party were coming. She continued to cry and wished to get further details, but I loped away, to report to my 'father' who had accompanied the expedition. I found all the party painted with charcoal. We went to the edge of the camp for the purpose of showing off our prize to the camp,—an act known as *baci'sExusùE*. The man who struck the first coup had also captured a gun, and he was taken for the leader. His shirt was steeped in a mixture of blood and charcoal. We formed a line behind until we reached the camp, round which we paraded, the leader reciting his coup. We stopped. All the people whose relatives had been killed by the enemy approached. The honor men brought drums, and women came to sing with the mourners. The scalps taken were distributed among the mourners. The man who struck the first coup was led around in a conspicuous fashion by old praise-singers, followed by the warriors and an escort of women marching abreast with the warriors, but separated from them by the musicians. In the center of the camp a double circle was formed, and the *bā̀há'tsk·e disúE* (Long Dance) was begun. Only the men who had been on the expedition participated in this performance. After the dance, each warrior individually invited the people to his lodge in order to tell them the story of the war party. On this occasion coup-strikers were celebrated by praise songs chanted by their fathers' fellow-clansmen. By way of compensation the singers received presents, which were largely contributed by each warrior's own clan.

"They waited for a favorable day, then a herald proclaimed a performance called *tsū're isa'* (Big Dance?). The best singers reassembled for this occasion. Each coup-striker placed his medicine on his wife's head and had her carry his weapons. The war captain would tie his medicine to his wife's back or to a long stick she was to raise. All the camp turned out to view the proceedings. When a man had duplicate medicines, one was

taken by his wife and the other by himself. The captain's wife and the wives of the coup-strikers stood in the center and danced until evening, when they ceased; but the mourners, with blackened faces, continued to dance until the next morning. Warriors who had struck coups were again led around by old men. The next morning, before sunrise, people sneaked into the warriors' lodges and threw off their blankets though they might be with their wives. The warriors then dressed up and began to dance with the mourners. The captain called to the coup-strikers to prepare coffee and food for the dancers who had been jerked out of bed. There was bustle in the camp, and people went to look at the performance. The coup-strikers were again praised in song. The mourners danced until noon."

Additional data on some of the points dealt with in the foregoing quotation, as well as on some other features, were given on another occasion by the same informant. Members of a victorious war party killed a buffalo on their return and put the blood into a paunch. Then all took their robes and whitened them with wetted clay. Dry pine wood and wild *pū'pue* ("pampas") grass were burned separately to make distinct piles of ashes. The two kinds of charcoal and the blood were mixed in warm water, which was stirred. Four or five eminent men recited their deeds and began to paint each warrior's robe with the symbol of the first coup struck. A small stick is used for marking. In the meantime food has been prepared. Then each of the eminent men instructs the privates how to paint so many horse tracks or so many slain enemies, corresponding to their former exploits. Some human figures were painted crosswise to represent Sioux (or other enemies?). The entire shirts of the first coup-striker and gun-taker were blackened, the second and third men to count coup on the same enemy had only half their robe blackened, and the fourth counter on the same enemy only had the arms of his shirt painted black. Thus decorated, they returned and paraded through the camp.

One or two nights later all who participated in the killing of the enemy painted their faces dark red.[1] They marched through camp, the captain in the rear, with a herald behind him. The herald cried out, "Young women, all of you put on your finery and go to the lodge of the Pipe-owner, we shall have a collation there to-night." After the parade all the people went to the captain's lodge. Women kept streaming in and were ordered to seat themselves behind the warriors of their choice. Scout ("wolf") songs and scalp songs were sung. The women behind the coup-strikers

[1] The face was always *blackened* to indicate the killing of an enemy at the war party's return. Gray-bull probably means that some time after the return the paint was changed to dark red.

took each her chosen warrior's robe and tomahawk, stood by the door where they were in a conspicuous position, and began to dance. The herald, who was seated by the door, named the first coup-striker, and when this brave had answered, the herald bade him fill a pail with cherry dessert brought in by the women and give it to his wife. The first scout to sight the enemy had the pick of the food prepared, and turned over to his wife whatever he selected, whereupon he waited on all the other women present. The two scouts helped themselves, then they waited on the other men. After the feast the women were told to go home with the food left over and return to the lodge. The men also went off for willow branches and lined up ready for the women, who took the willows. A herald cried out, "Untie your horses and take them farther away, these young men are going to strike the tent." Then they struck the Pipe-owner's lodge with the willows amidst the beating of drums, while some men were shooting off their guns into the air. The horses were frightened and ran away. The women sang during this performance. Usually five or six tents were struck, then the men stopped. Sometimes they continued till morning. In the meantime, the Long Dance (see p. 234) was celebrated in the center of the camp.

Supplementary data were obtained from Blue-bead. When a man had announced his intention to go on the warpath, the news spread rapidly and those willing to accompany him had moccasins made for the journey. They often set out after sunset or when it was already dark. Each man led a dog by a rope that was afterwards used for the horses stolen from the enemy, and the dog was laden with the moccasins and a small bucket. For a shelter they erected windbreaks of sticks interlaced with bark and sometimes roofed with foliage. Scouts were sent ahead, and if they sighted the enemy they came back to give a report to that effect, which was called *batsî'k·arakùe*. When coming back, the scouts gave a wolf howl, sang, and danced the scout dance. After this performance the party went to the spot where the enemy had been seen, and after espying them again they headed them off and hid along their path. Each sang medicine songs and tied his individual war charm to the back of his head. One man kept peeping out from behind a rock. When the enemy approached, the Crow suddenly attacked them and shot at them as they fled. When the first enemy had been struck, there was a scramble to get the honor of striking him. Some took off the scalp and stretched it in a hoop. They scraped the flesh off with a knife and blackened the dried scalp with charcoal. The scalp was afterwards produced as evidence of the killing and was held aloft at the end of a long stick.

On the return the party killed a buffalo, saved the blood, and put it into the inner lining of the stomach. The blood was mixed with charcoal until

it was quite black, then the shirt of the first coup-striker was blackened with the mixture, and he wore this when they got back to camp. Then each one marked up his robe with parallel stripes and from four to six roughly sketched human figures, the number not depending on the number of enemies struck. The last night before getting back, was spent very close to the Crow camp. In the morning, as soon as they were within shooting distance, they fired off their guns and made a characteristic noise. Arrived at the edge of the camp, they dispatched the coup-strikers to bring one drum for every member of the party. In the meantime the women got ready, and danced ahead of the warriors into the camp, followed by the party.

The night after this triumphant return the scouts announced that the women were to clean all their dishes and assemble in a large lodge, as they were going "to strike the tent" (acdítuE). The men of the war party got into the tent and beat their drums, singing wolf songs. Food, consisting mainly of stewed berries, was served by the coup-strikers. Then the older men issued an order that the women should take the remainder of the food home and return for the *acdítuE* performance. In the meantime the boys cut long willow sticks and leaned them against the tipi. After the women's return, each warrior took a willow and all marched to another tipi that had been selected for the purpose. All rushed towards it and struck it with the willows, each at the same time making a noise and singing victory songs. Then they proceeded to the center of the camp and performed a dance there. The men wrapped their blankets about their women partners and danced in a circle with a step resembling that of the Owl dance, but circling both right and left.

If a member of the war party had been killed, a messenger was sent ahead toward the Crow camp. From a high eminence some distance from the camp he fired a gun, and when the people looked he waved his blanket, signaling from what direction he had come. The people all knew then what had happened and who was the captain of the unlucky party. The messenger signaled with the blanket, and threw it away to one side. This meant that one man had been killed. If more than one Crow had suffered death, the blanket was picked up and the signal repeated for each additional victim. Then the messenger never went to the camp, but sat down, and men were dispatched to him to learn the details of the disaster. Then the entire camp mourned. The war party stayed in the hills, mourning for ten days, during which period they might not drink from a cup in the ordinary fashion, but had others serve them with drink. After this space of time they set off again without having re-entered the camp. If on this second trip they brought back horses they ceased to mourn; but the family of the slain Crow continued to cry until an enemy had been killed.

Among the signals used by the Crow, Blue-bead mentions the flashing of a mirror to indicate the sighting of the enemy. To hold out a blanket and turn it was a summons to come nearer. This method was successfully employed by my interpreter in 1907 in calling a man about a mile away on a hillside. When the person to whom the message was to be given was very far off, the signaler ran back and forth to attract attention. Smoke signals were used in former days, but before Blue-bead's time. Scouts sometimes used fire as a signal to show a war party where they were.

OATHS.

Owing to the rare occurrence of oaths and ordeals in the New World,[1] the custom to be described is of considerable interest. It was first noted by Mr. Simms,[2] and later by Mr. Curtis.[3] The closest analogy in any other tribe is, so far as I know, the oath of the Cheyenne as described by Dr. Grinnell.[4] The Crow name for the practice, *ack·ápbatsā'pasùɛ*, indicates that it is a highly specialized usage and does not correspond to an oath or ordeal in the wider sense of these terms. *Ack·ápe* means "exploit"; *bāts* is a reciprocal prefix; and *ā'pasūɛ̀* is the abstract noun from the verb meaning "to dispute."[5] Accordingly, the term may be rendered: "the disputing with each other as to war honors."

If two men both laid claim to the same coup there were two slightly different modes of testing their veracity before an assembly of warriors. (According to Mr. Curtis, it was a man's joking-relatives that made him resort to the ordeal in order to settle the disputed point.) Either each of the contestants in turn took a knife, put it in his mouth, pointed it at the Sun, and recited a formula affirming the justice of his claim and invoking death on the one that lied. Or, the people took an old, dry buffalo head, painted the tips of its horns red,[6] and laid it down. An arrow infixed in a piece of lean meat was placed upon the head. Then each rival in turn raised the arrow, pointing his right index finger at the head of the arrow, and recited a formula similar to that described above. If neither of the contestants was afraid to undergo this ordeal, the truth of their statements could not be determined on the spot. But if some time after the test one

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[1] Boas, p. 169.
[2] *American Anthropologist*, 1903, p. 733.
[3] IV, p. 24, and frontispiece.
[4] Pp. 300–301.
[5] *awā'pacik'* = "I dispute."
[6] Gros-Ventre-horse says that only one horn was painted red.

of them was afflicted with some misfortune, then the Crow regarded him as the liar and his rival as the one justly entitled to the disputed honors.

Birds-all-over-the-ground says that the arrow was painted red on half of its point to symbolize blood, that the meat represented the contestant's body, and that each contestant rubbed the arrow over his mouth.

The following formulae were given by several informants:—

(1)

"cō'oke kō bī'cirEk, cē̄'^{e}matsik·."
"Whoever may lie he will die."

(2)

"hin' é [dā'akce] bī'itsik·. bā'ritsim, mi arákac."
"This [coup] I first I struck, me you[1] see."

Then, after putting the knife in the mouth:—

"akbī'ce sā'hi."
"The one that lies shall die."

(3)

acbá ihë'c bī'ren bā'ritsik·. áx'acè, awásara'kEk mi arákam
The enemy I myself struck. Sun, downward looking me you see

bā'ritsic. bī'ren bā'ritsic. pī'ctsisa acbá ihë' bā'rEk, karitsi'
as I struck him. I myself struck him. In the future enemy when I meet, again

ar'ítsem bē'wik·.
well I shall have.[2]

A brief concrete account by Lone-tree may well be quoted verbatim.

Text.

bī'ren dúxiwārḕk· ī'ptse+akè bīk·. dē̄'ra patskirisé dō'^{o}sen
I myself on a war party went, The pipe-holder (was) I. Then way up on a big hill on this side

bicém barī'wī'Ewuk. ū'wutbaràxiE ī'bā̀riwi'Ewuk. hēm isā'kce
buffalo we went after. Guns with we went after. Then young men

nū'pEm dē'wa'tsḕk· dīwatsē'wiawak. itdī'suE acbā' ihé
two I sent to shoot them (?). Just before they came to buffalo enemies

kucbasū'k. hēm bíck·arūk. baré ā'xiEk baré dahī'uk.
towards they ran. Then towards me they ran. Us they surrounded, us they fight.

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[1] The Sun.

[2] That is to say, "If I meet an enemy in the future, may I overcome him without difficulty."

awáxpe arahō′ dū′ōk. hēm karakō′m bāwatsī′ōk, hawa′tem
My party main were coming. Then we fought, one

mapī′uk. maráxïicīc kōn dā′kce ditsík·. Hēm isā′kce
we killed. No-one-camped-with-him then coup struck. Then a young man

ā′pacik·. karakō′ mā′kuk. apsā′ruke ā′acisè awúERūm,
disputed. Then we came home. The Crow Missouri we were in there,

mī′akāte dicíwa'kuk.
the girls we caused to dance.

hēm acū′tsōtse burutū′k. ā^{a}′cū′o híciwuk. arū′ute irúcice
Then an old dry head we took. The head we painted red. An arrow, fresh meat

īwapxēetuk, ā′ken burusā′+uk. kandā′tsipbaxkū′k. "cō′oke kō-
we stuck it into, on top we laid it. We made them taste it. "Whichever

bī′cirEk bā′^{a}re hī′sa cē′emātsik·," būk. hin'e′ isā′kce bà rētā′re
is the liar, winter before will die," we said. This young man (that) truly not

dī′Em cēk·. karī′waxkotbû k. hin'e′ isā′kce dā′ace awatsíE+à rEc.
did it died. Thus we did. This young man's name (was) Badger-arm.

Free Translation.

Once I went on a war party as leader. Far up on the side of a high hill we were looking for buffalo, armed with guns. I sent out two young men as scouts. Just before getting to the buffalo they chanced upon the enemy and ran towards me. The enemy surrounded us and began to attack us. The main body of my party came up, then we fought against the enemy and killed one. No-one-camped-with-him struck a coup, but another young man claimed the honor. We got home after crossing the Missouri and made our girls perform a dance in celebration of the victory. Then we took an old dry head and painted it red, impaled a slice of fresh meat on an arrow, and laid it on the skull. We made the contestants taste the meat, saying, "Whichever lies, will die before next winter." The young man that had not struck the coup died. This was our usage. The young man's name was Badger-arm.

SONGS OF PRAISE (mā̀tsikarū′E).

Songs of praise were sung by the father and fellow-clansmen [1] of a warrior returning from a victorious expedition against the enemy. They might also be sung during the expedition either by the leader or some of the old men accompanying the party. At the present day, aged men and women sing in praise of younger people who have presented them with valuable gifts. Such songs may be heard at Lodge Grass during the week of July celebrations as acknowledgments of the horses given away in connection with the Hot dance. The singers call off the names of their benefactors, and in former times those of the successful warriors were called out in corresponding fashion.

Songs of praise are said to have originated in dreams and are interpreted by the Indians in their own way; some date back to very remote times. Gray-bull recently sold his praise songs for a horse. The use of particular sets of sung words for the purpose of praising someone seems in some cases to be purely conventional, as the sense bears no apparent relation to any meritorious deed or act. For example, as a specimen of a praise song, which is also sung during adoptions into the Tobacco society, Medicine-crow, and Gray-bull independently cite the following: "I adopt you as my grandmother" ("di wasa'kā′m bā′wik'").

Two other songs were given by Gray-bull:

(1)

bacúsak	,	mī ō′rewa.
Make a Tobacco Dance,		(for) me wait.

(2)

batsū′kā tu	,	ahō′we,	ahō′we,	macikā′^{a}tu.
My dear younger brothers,		thanks,	thanks,	my younger brothers (literally, my boys).

Muskrat, an old woman, lays claim to the honor of having counted coup on a Piegan and cut his scalp in the year "when the buffalo were killed." She says that the *tsi'pawāi′itse* clan sang praise songs in her honor, because the woman who had raised her belonged to that clan. Muskrat had captured many arrows and distributed them among the clansmen, two apiece.

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[1] Possibly this ought to read "the father's fellow-clansmen."

RECKONING OF TIME.

At present there are designations for each of our four seasons, viz. *bā're,* "winter"; *bī'awukasè,* "spring"; *bī'awakcè,* "summer"; *basê,* "autumn." However, there are indications that in ancient times the Crow, like the Blackfoot,[1] divided the year into only two seasons,— the period from the beginning of spring to the first snowfall, and the period from the first snowfall to the disappearance of the ice. For example, the officers of the military societies were invariably elected for the former space of time, and the first fall of snow absolved them from the duties of their office. Years are designated as "winters." They are distinguished by the old Crow by means of descriptive designations referring to some notable event that occurred within the respective spaces of time in question. Thus, when asked how long ago the Foxes had last issued the emblems of their society, Shot-in-the-arm began by stating that the year after that occurrence Deaf-bull had brought 80 head of horses, that year being referred to as *a'ku'xEC nū'pEXpirekō,* "Deaf-bull's eighty." He then proceeded to give the subsequent years as follows: —

1. batsé sá 'pue hawī'o, "they killed seven men."
2. batsé tsEXō hawī'o, "they killed five men."
3. bārarēte, "no winter" (that is, a very fine winter).
4. isā'tsxaruEC mārupé, "Two-leggings' killing."
5. makā'ṭ bakúpe, "children's sickness."
6. icī'i sac uwacë', "Big-hair lost his wife."
7. birítāc dapī'o, "Spotted-butterfly was killed."
8. ū'wutpapácic an'apī'u, "Iron-ball was killed."
9. apū'wut dū'suE, "eating of iron noses."

(This refers to the tags on the faces of cattle at the first issue by the Government.)

The following year the Crow were moved to the Little Horn Agency, which event took place 27 years ago (in 1911), hence the last distribution of Fox emblems dates back to about 1873.

Gray-bull enumerated the following lesser divisions of the year: *buru'xtsiritàtse,* "when the ice breaks"; *maré ā'ape asi'E,* "when the leaves sprout"; *batsū'(w)ō'oce,* "when the berries are ripe"; *mare' ā'ape dē'exe,* "when the leaves turn yellow"; *mare' ā'ape tari'E,* "when the leaves fall"; *kambā're,* "when the first snow falls."

Gray-bull distinguishes the full moon *mi'ritatsi karatsitsE'xik'* (literally, "circular moon"), and the new moon, *mi'ritatsi irā'xaxèwick'at* (literally, "moon just large enough to cast a shadow").

[1] See Wissler, (a), p. 44.

CLUBS.

At the present day the place of the older military societies has been taken by four clubs,— the Night Hot dancers (ō′ᵒtsiĕc bā tawé), more commonly known among the whites as the Night-hawks; the Big Ear-holes (a'panō′pise); the Last Hot dancers (bā̀ tawé hā′ake); and the Sioux dancers (nakō′ta). With the exception of the last-mentioned organization, which is said to have been originated by the Crow themselves, all of these clubs were introduced by the Hidatsa together with the Hot (Grass) dance about thirty-seven years ago.

Gray-bull says that the Last dancers are also called Hot-dancers-with-plenty-of-money because on one occasion they had contributed more money than the other clubs for a general fund. On another occasion, they made an enclosure of red flannel at the dance house now used at Lodge Grass, and then distributed the cloth among the women.

Practically all the men now living, except perhaps the very oldest, belong to one of the four clubs and take part in the Hot dance whenever that is celebrated. On such occasions the men sit quartered off in the modern dance houses according to the club they belong to. Members of any organization dance together. There is nothing distinctive of any society in the regalia worn, except that straight and hooked staffs wrapped with otterskin are among the dance emblems of the Big Ear-holes and Night Hot dancers, who regard themselves as representatives of the obsolete Lumpwood and Fox societies respectively. In Lodge Grass these two clubs were said to be at loggerheads with each other very much as these old military societies had been; but Pryor informants denied the existence of this feeling of rivalry.

Admission into any of the clubs resembles the way of entering the military societies. That is to say, there is no formal initiation nor purchase. Ordinarily an invitation to join is offered to desirable men, that is to say, to such persons as are known for their liberality and are likely to entertain their fellow-members. Men who have a reputation of this sort are likely to be "bought out," that is, enticed from one club into another by the offer of substantial gifts. The following case is even more typical of the method pursued in the old days. Wolf-lies-down was a Last dancer. When he had died, his brother, Bird-far-away, a member of the Big Ear-hole club, was taken in his place, just as in former days new men were taken into the Fox, Lumpwood, and other military societies to supersede a deceased relative.

The clubs must be conceived as being in large measure mutual benefit organizations. When the member of a club seeks admission into one of the Tobacco societies, his fellow-members contribute to the heavy payment exacted on such occasions. Just before the mid-day intermission of a Tobacco adoption ceremony witnessed in July, 1910, each member of the Night Hot dance club, which had lined up outside the ceremonial lodge, approached a woman acting as receiver and handed her a quarter, or some such coin, as his contribution to the amount paid to the adopter of the Night Hot dancer who was being initiated. The following year Gray-bull and others similarly helped a little boy at his adoption because his father belonged to the Last Dancers' club, of which they were members. If a member of any of the clubs is required to perform a certain amount of labor on his farm-land, all his associates come to help him.

From time to time feasts are celebrated by club members. Thus, immediately after the payment of contributions in connection with the Tobacco initiation, all the Night-hawks gathered in the tent of one of the members and two men proceeded to distribute the contents of a large case of fruit in an absolutely equitable fashion, all guests receiving exactly equal shares. The only woman present at the feast was the host's wife.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS.

When a person happens to sneeze, bystanders say to him, "They are calling you, that's why you sneeze." [1] This is regarded simply as a joke.

If a person has a wart, people say, "He is a thief, he has a wart" ("bā̀-tari'tɛm ïicbitsū'icik.") .[2]

Hide-beating (nàxbiritu'a), which among the Nez Percé and Shoshone seems to have had a serious purpose, is said to have been merely a form of amusement among the Crow. Men and women — or, according to another source of information, women with a single man for leader — went from lodge to lodge on a fall or winter evening, holding a hide perforated along the edge and beating it with sticks. At the same time they sang songs in a low tone of voice. This custom was adopted from the Shoshone. In the old days the flaps of the lodge cover on either side of the smoke-vent were used as hides.

There are two ways of insulting a Crow that seem to correspond to our

[1] "dirā'sasūɛ ïk'ō'tk
"You they are calling, that is why."

[2] *bitsū'ɛ* is the word for "wart."

swearing. One is to call him a ghost,— *dī axparā'axe*, "You are a ghost." In the Crow version of a familiar Plains tale, the hero's buffalo-wife, who has warned him not to insult her, immediately runs away when her husband calls her a ghost. Apparently, it is a still greater insult to be twitted with being an *akirī'hawe*, "orphan," that is, a person without relatives.

It is not considered proper to mention the name of a dead person before his relatives except while those present are smoking. The relatives themselves refer to a deceased kinsman by some new name. Thus, Currant is spoken of as "Thistles."

The rear of the lodge was called *acō'* and was the place of honor. There medicines were tied to the lodge poles, and a backrest (icërekō'tsi'te) was put in front of them. Between this backrest and the fireplace no one was permitted to pass.[1] A man and his wife slept on one side of the backrest, children and other relatives on the other side. A visitor took his seat on either side of the backrest. A woman sat next to her husband, but nearer to the door.

Songs composed in derision of someone that had transgressed the rules of propriety, or in revenge for some personal or group affront, seem to have figured rather prominently in Crow society. Some of those composed by the rival Fox and Lumpwood organizations will be given in another paper. Similar punishment was meted out by jilted lovers, and by one of the three local groups, when affronted by one of the others.

The latter case is illustrated by the following narrative. When Gray-bull was a young man, his division, the Many-Lodges, took a pipe to the Black-Lodges near the Missouri, and offered it to their hosts to smoke. When asked for the reason of their visit, the leaders explained that they desired the Black-Lodges to join them in fighting the Sioux. The Black-Lodges refused to take the pipe, and the Many-Lodges departed in anger. Shortly after, at the Musselshell crossing, they caught sight of about 100 hostile Sioux, with their women and children; they had put up some sweat lodges. The Sioux espied the Crow, abandoned everything and fled, pursued by the Crow. The Crow gave chase, killed twelve of the enemy, and appropriated the property left by the Sioux. Only one Crow was hit in the chest by an arrow, and he was not severely wounded.

The Many-Lodges then went back to laugh at the Black-Lodges. As soon as they were seen, the Black-Lodges guessed from their actions that

[1] Later Gray-bull said that not every lodge kept its rear backrest sacred. Rulings on this point seem to have differed also in different Hidatsa earth-lodges. In 1911 my Hidatsa interpreter was amazed to find that the grandchildren of the most conservative Indian of that tribe were allowed to pass freely between the medicines stored in the rear and the fireplace. In the earth-lodge where he had passed his youth there was a strict taboo against this practice.

they had been successful. They were jealous, and wanted to move camp. The women of the Many-Lodges, whose period of mourning had been terminated by the slaying of the Sioux enemies,[1] began to make songs deriding the two Black-Lodge chiefs:

batsé wā′perEkatsì Ec, bācire′
White-on-the-side-of-the-neck, My vulva[2]

à′a pī′waxkak dē′wa′tsī′wik.
I'll put round his neck, then I'll send him away.

tsē̄′tuxce diwū′cewutawàk barī′mik.
Bob-tail wolf, you inside my anus I'll put, I'll walk.

kandī′rítciakà cdEk, dē′tyucdawa.
When you smell the strongest, you can get out.

A song made about a married woman was considered disgraceful, but single women did not care about it. Such songs were generally made on the warpath and as a revenge for being jilted.

Once a woman who had been Gray-bull's mistress accompanied her husband on the warpath. Gray-bull was jealous, walked behind and composed this song, in which the woman herself is supposed to be speaking:—

"dúxirarEk, atbaréwik."
"If you go on the warpath, I will also go."

As the party passed a little gap, the woman came just in front of Gray-bull, and he said,

"círEràtse, kandáwiwE."
"Yellow-one far away, go ahead."

On another occasion, before Gray-bull had become famous as a warrior, another mistress told a woman that she did not consider Gray-bull a man at all, that she should leave him, that he had scarcely any hair on his head, and that she would have nothing more to do with him. This occurred in the beginning of the winter. In the spring Gray-bull went on the warpath. He made up the following song in mockery of the woman:—

maré wirexbàkbìE, dáricidaráxdEk;
Medicine-doll-woman, you do not know how to dance,

(Sneeringly), ictáxia íciuckacdak
a gun scabbard pretending to own,

ā′cge xē′xik.
Testes you have hanging down.

Such a song was preceded by the statement that the speaker was going to tell the truth. (See p. 225.)

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[1] Evidently, some Crow warriors had been killed by the Sioux, and the Many-Lodges had wished to wipe out the misfortune by retaliation.

[2] That is, the singers consider the chief a woman.

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ADDENDUM.

After the galley proofs of the preceding paper had been returned to the printer for paging, I received a communication from my Lodge Grass interpreter, Mr. James Carpenter, who had kindly gone over the typescript of the section on Terms of Relationship. Mr. Carpenter finds the presentation of facts on pp. 207–212 essentially correct, but contributes some data on doubtful points, which are accordingly given below.

With regard to using *axé* in addressing a father-in-law (when a man does so at all), Mr. Carpenter writes that it is more polite to do so.

basbā'xie is used by both sexes. If it is desired to emphasize that one is speaking of the father's own (not clan) sister, *bā'bekúa* is added.

The term given for "father's clansman" is employed by both sexes.

No distinction is expressed between a father's father and a mother's father.

In speaking of a "great-grandchild," *ba-îa* is added to the word for "grandchild." "Great-grandparent" is expressed by adding *ā'kúke* to the words for "grandfather" and "grandmother."

a'xpe is used in the sense of "mate," "friend," "companion" in the widest sense. The plural form *áxpue* is also employed in a plural sense.

tsiré could be used by a woman in speaking of her husband if their union was a permanent one. For example, she might say, "*bā'tsiré dúxirēk·*," "my husband has gone on a war party."

If a man intended to divorce his wife at some time, he called her, in direct address, "*īwa'k ī'mbe.*"

With regard to the terms for "my wife's elder sister" and "my wife's younger sister," the rule holds that the vocative ends in *a* and the non-vocative in *e*. *búakarîcta* can be used, but not by all, as it is not very polite.

For the precise use of *búɛ* my interpreter would like to consult once more an older man. It was used for "my wife," although the term also means something else. This word, as well as the preceding one, illustrates the difficulty of arriving at a complete conprehension of the system of relationship terms.